HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

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ISTORY OF THE

AT THE CLOSE OF THE IDDLE GES

By OHANNES ANSSEN

VOL. XIII.

SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES, SCIENCE, LEARNING AND CULTURE DOWN TO THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

TRANSLATED BY A. M. CHRISTIE

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

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DRAFT OF A PREFACE BY JOHANNES JANSSEN

It has been the general practice of historians, while basing their history on a groundwork of facts collected by themselves, to deal with those facts each one from his own individual point of view. For myself, I have thought fit to gather together from all directions as much as possible of credible material and facts, but to leave it to the readers to draw their own conclusions and form their own opinions. All the matter which I have here brought forward I consider necessary for the right understanding of the progressive development of the history of the German people and of the conditions of public affairs, above all of the circumstances of the Thirty Years' War.

This method has, however, one drawback: it means an accumulation of facts which for the author involved no slight sacrifices and difficulties, and which will very probably prove wearisome to the reader. But the interests of objective truth were at stake, and to this consideration all minor ones had to give way.

In order to proceed as objectively as possible, I have made a point, wherever it was feasible, of letting

original sources and contemporaries speak for themselves, although their occasionally over-coarse language may have a repellent effect.

Of stirring up sectarian feeling I have had no thought. This I can say with a good conscience.

That I shall have to encounter attacks of manifold kind in the future I do not doubt: in so far as these may be of an instructive nature I shall welcome them gratefully; for the rest, I shall not let myself be disturbed in my mental calm.

Magna est veritas, et praevalebit—Mighty is Truth, and it will prevail.[1]

[1] The above lines, dashed off hastily in pencil, were found by me among Janssen's papers; they were probably written in the summer of 1891 in Oberursel.—L. P.

PREFACE TO EDITIONS I. TO XII. OF LUDWIG PASTOR

WITH the sixth volume of his great work, which appeared towards the end of 1888, Janssen interrupted the narrative of political history in order to give a comprehensive picture of the conditions of culture and civilisation of the German people from the close of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. With the same thoroughness which characterises this sixth volume, 'Art and Popular Literature,' the author intended, in its continuation, to deal with schools and universities, culture and learning, the economic, social, religious and moral conditions of Germany, as also with witchcraft and trials of witches.

In the middle of November of the above-mentioned year the preliminary labours for this seventh volume were begun and, in spite of manifold hindrances, continued with the greatest zeal. An attack of illness in the spring of 1891 caused the first interruption. Janssen was already at that time 'a prey to the feeling that he would never bring this part of his work to a conclusion.' As his condition improved but very slightly in the following months he called to his assistance in June his friend Alexander Baumgartner, who had already on

other occasions shown himself a willing helper. In the company of this intellectual scholar, who remained by Janssen's side with help and counsel for a whole month, the work progressed considerably. On its becoming evident that the comprehensive material could not be compressed into one volume, Janssen, on Baumgartner's advice and insistent begging, determined not to abridge, but rather to make two volumes instead of one. During his country sojourn in the Oberursel work went on again zealously, and equally so after his return to his adopted town of Frankfort. Here, on November 14, the historian of the German people was seized with that serious illness which on Christmas Eve put an end to his life. On the last day but one of his life the indefatigable man had been occupied with his papers for a quarter of an hour.[1]

The task which fell to me as heir to the literary legacy of my never-to-be-forgotten teacher and friend was no easy one, but I gladly welcomed the opportunity of discharging some slight portion, at any rate, of my debt of gratitude to the dear departed.

The manuscript on being looked through proved to be by no means throughout in a condition ready for the press, and it was also found that several sections, of special difficulty owing to their subject matter, were altogether wanting. Under these circumstances, in spite of the easily intelligible impatience of the public, immediate publication was not possible.

[1] Cf. my *Lebensbild Janssens* (Freiburg, 1892), pp. 139-147. I have drawn attention in the present volume (Vol. XIII. Eng. p. 467, n. 1) to the part at which Janssen worked immediately before his death.

Only the first sixty-nine manuscript pages had been marked by the deceased author as completely 'ready for the press'; all the rest required careful looking through. This work was made still more laborious by the fact that during Janssen's illness part of the manuscript had fallen into disorder. An especially arduous task was the filling in and completion of the numerous quotations which were only indicated: this work often involved looking through all the volumes of the publications in question.

Further, among the papers there were found quantities of extracts as well as references to works bearing on the subject which the author himself had marked as not having yet been utilised. I could not and dared not neglect the use of these materials, but all contributions from them, and, indeed, all additions for which I am responsible, I have introduced in the notes, and I have indicated them by two asterisks (**). In the interpolation of these additions and completions I have been guided as far as possible by the pencil notes jotted down by the author on the margins of his manuscript. Similarly I have inserted among the notes my own references to important new publications in the department of historical literature. Of the actual text, apart from improvement of slight inaccuracies and slips of the pen, I have altered nothing.

In this wise I believe myself to have been true to the exactions alike of learning and of friendship.

The second part of my task consisted in the composition of the missing chapters: Natural Science; The Healing Art; Theology and Philosophy among the

Catholics; Translations of Holy Scripture into German by Catholics and Protestants; Universal Religious and Moral Degeneracy; Increase of Crime and Criminal Justice. The four first-named sections complete the present volume (Volumes XIII. and XIV. of English translation), while the two others belong to the eighth volume. The latter (Volume VIII.) deals in an exhaustive manner with the 'economic, social, religious and moral conditions of the country, as well as with the subject of witchcraft and witch trials,' and will be published within the next few months. In the completion of the missing chapters also I was entirely guided by the wishes of my dear departed friend. The latter had given me verbally from his sick-bed many valuable hints and directions, and these were amplified by numerous manuscript notes in the legacy of papers. It has been my earnest endeavour to keep as strictly as possible to these directions.

For the continuation of the present work to the downfall of the old Empire in 1806 such numerous notes have come into my possession with Janssen's literary legacy that the completion of the 'History of the German People' may be considered a certainty if God the Lord gives me life and strength.

After finishing the third volume of my history of the Popes—the most difficult parts of which are already accomplished—I intend devoting myself with all my powers to the history of Germany. I shall go all the more gladly to this work as I shall thereby be carrying out the express wish of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII.

PREFACE TO THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH EDITIONS.

THE publication of the present volume completes the new edition of the whole of the work left behind by Janssen. Here, also, I have been guided by the same principles which, with universal approval, I adhered to in former volumes, namely, loyalty on the one hand to the deceased author, in whom I revere my most distinguished teacher, and on the other hand regard to the progress of historical knowledge. The more important among the contributions of modern historical literature are accurately referred to in notes in each of the different sections, and are also taken into account in the text, this being the only way in which Janssen's great work could be kept up to the level of contemporary knowledge and learning. Section VII. of Part I., 'Philosophy and Theology among the Protestants,' has been subjected to more thoroughgoing remodelling. Janssen had intended to work up and expand this chapter, above all to portray in greater detail the individual Protestant theologians mentioned in it. When, however, I first published the seventh volume in 1893 I thought fit to deviate from this plan, feeling that it would involve a radical alteration of the text, and would also interfere with those considera-

tions of loyal friendship on which I have laid stress in the preface. These last considerations have been duly regarded in that the section in question has been once given to the public. In a fresh edition I resolved on a different course, and this chiefly because the want of proportion between Janssen's very summary account of Protestant philosophy and theology, and the exhaustive manner in which I myself had treated the section dealing with the analogous development on the Catholic side, seemed to me fully to justify those critics who called for a more symmetrical narrative. I felt that the balance between the two sections needed to be adjusted.

I gratefully acknowledge here the assistance which I have received for this section, as indeed for the whole work, from Herr Dr. Lauchert. I am also indebted for numerous contributions to the present edition to the kindness of Dr. Paulus, Herr P. Braunsberger, and Dr. Falk, Keeper of Archives.

LUDWIG PASTOR.

INNSBRUCK: *August* 25, 1903.

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Corrigenda

P. 42, n. 1, l. 19 : *for* Sulzbach *read* Sulzach.
P. 115, l. 1 : *for* Vickart *read* Fickart.
P. 130, l. 7 : *for* Borgin *read* Borgia.
P. 144, l. 12 : *for* Novenius *read* Rovenius.
P. 154, l. 21 : *after* Plutarch *insert* Arrian.
P. 183, l. 7 : *for* Reichmair *read* Kirchmair.
P. 240, l. 21 : *after* Provincial *insert* Hoffaeus.
P. 317, n. 3 : *for* Meinhardt *read* Meinhardi.
P. 329, l. 14 : *after* Erasmus *insert* of Rotterdam.
P. 330, n. 1, l. 3 : *after* princes *insert* of Anhalt.
P. 361, l. 17 : *after* pastor *insert* at Rettendorf.
P. 425, ll. 19, 20 : *between* Augsburg Chronicle *and* of Sigmund Meisterlin *insert* of Burkard Zink and the Nuremberg Chronicle.
P. 430, l. 6 : *for* Arlat *read* Arles.
P. 534, l. 9 : *for* the Silesian, Plinius *read* the Silesian Pliny.

HISTORY

OF

THE GERMAN PEOPLE

AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

PART I

SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

INTRODUCTION

It is on the whole anything but a pleasant picture—in great measure, alas! one of unutterable misery and devastation—which German national literature presents from the outbreak of the religious revolution to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

In Church hymns and in simple folk-songs there rings, indeed, now and again a joyous, heart-gladdening melody, recalling the happiest and the most believing epochs of the past. But the music soon changes to the shrill shrieks of multitudinous battle-songs, rising from the camps of religious strife and rivalry. Even in their Church song Protestants and Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists, fight against each other,

while with the small number of poets and hymn-writers who labour for peace, cold moralising and dogmatising take the place of hearty soul-stirring religious fervour. We see growing up in rank confusion a luxuriant crop of unedifying, uncomforting, tasteless verse written for all sorts of occasions—libellous verses, begging verses, wearisome Meister songs, rhymed satires, together with shoals of prose lampoons, breathing forth inveterate party-hatred, flood the German book-market. Nowhere is there any sense of beauty; all feeling for plain, simple loveliness of expression has disappeared. Like almost all other branches of literature, the drama, religious as well as secular, came to be exclusively the representative of passionate religious conflicts; even in Biblical plays, religious polemics gained an increasingly wider footing. The popular drama sank into the deepest mire of degradation, and came to revel in the depiction of the gruesomest objects. Popular writings and romances of the most immoral kind poisoned the imaginations of the people. Narrative literature lent itself wholly to the service of the preposterous and absurd, to nightmares of superstition, witchcraft and demonology, in which the devil was always a favourite figure. Satan, indeed, at that period played a leading part on the stage of the world and of humanity. He reigned supreme in life and in fiction.

This terrible deterioration of German national literature in the course of a single century is chiefly responsible for the habit that obtained of regarding the close of the Middle Ages as a period of deep intellectual decay, and of tracing back to this period all the lamentable events of the sixteenth century; nay, more, of making the ancient Church more or less answerable

for the tremendous bankruptcy of German national life.

As a matter of fact, the close of the Middle Ages stands about equi-distant from both the flourishing epochs of German literature. No more than did the sixteenth century can this period be said to have left any legacy of great poetic works to surround its memory among the German and neighbouring peoples with a radiance of creative force and fine intellectual culture. We find, it is true, among its poetic achievements the most touching and tender blossoms of religious and secular folklore; German hymnology has most exquisite products to show; the religious drama had reached a stage of development which, but for the intervention of a gigantic upheaval of national life, might have gone on to the highest degree of blossoming. It cannot, however, be denied that amidst this freshly blooming life many threatening symptoms of decay were visible. Satire and ridicule appear in a variety of forms; political discontent makes itself heard in loud complaints; the carnival plays intended for taverns are full of the coarsest vulgarity. Nevertheless, the balance is still maintained between the forces that make for edification and those that are pernicious; if anything the former may be said to predominate.

Poetry, however, even in its most brilliant epic and dramatic productions, is still only a one-sided, never a full and exhaustive, expression of the intellectual life of a nation. The mightiest efforts at religious revival may be going on, philosophy and theology may be steadily deepening, mathematics and natural science receiving the most stimulating impulse, acquaintance with ancient classical literature and poetry diffusing

the finest sense of art through all the upper classes of society, the most plentiful springs of poetic genius bubbling up among the masses, while all the time there is no poet of the first rank to embody the spirit of the age in great and lasting works. A nation may rejoice in a rich intellectual life without the results being focussed in the mirror of a great poem.

Wealth of intellectual life was the privilege of the German nation from the middle of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the religious, political, social upheavals. It was a period of the deepest and most many-sided intellectual activity.

The endeavour after knowledge, after higher culture, greater intellectual distinction, was not confined to a few choice spirits here and there, or to isolated groups and select circles. Everywhere, among all classes of people, the world-stirring discoveries of the age—above all the invention of the printing press—had produced a powerful mental awakening and had given an immense impetus to school education. The most highly gifted men turned their energies chiefly to imparting to the rising generation the new-found treasure of classic culture. A deeply Christian spirit and theory of life dominated these endeavours, and guided them into paths which gave promise of abundant blessing in the development of schools and learning.

Alexander Hegius, who made the Classics the centre of education for the young, and who raised school training into a channel for fresh spiritual life, was also of opinion that the highest mental freedom lay in the fulfilment of Christ's commands; he considered true intellectual culture inseparably bound up with devotion to the Redeemer; he held the weight of mental force to

be dependent on its being consecrated to the service of God.[1]

The same religious unity which existed between clerical and secular, between public and private life, also knit together education and instruction, learning and life, preserved the different branches of knowledge from separation and dispersion, and gave a firm backbone to the whole structure of education.

The love and devotion given to the art of instruction and to the sciences, and the high value attached to these, were seen pre-eminently in the progressive growth, inward and outward, of the educational institutions. Decade after decade, from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, witness the gratifying sight of improvement in existing high schools, and of new ones brought into being, provided with means of literary assistance and with endowments, and attended by large—in many cases constantly increasing—numbers of pupils.[2] Most of the men who later on, in the stormy times of religious revolution, were distinguished for learning, had in youth laid the foundation of their culture in these seminaries.

In North Germany, to cite only a few instances, the town of Brunswick alone, besides the three schools maintained by the three ecclesiastical corporations at St. Blasius, St. Cyriacus, and St. Aegidius, owned two

[1] His motto, as Murmellius has preserved it, runs as follows:

Libertas summa est tua, Christe, facessere iussa,
Nemo est *ingenuus*, nisi qui tibi servit, Iesu,
Nemo est, qui *regnet*, famulus nisi fidus Iesu.

See vol. i. of Janssen's *Hist.* pp. 68–70.

[2] Vol. i. p. 61 ff. ** A summary of the reports on the teaching of the German language in the schools at the close of the Middle Ages is given by Joh. Müller in the *Quellenschrifte*, p. 314 ff.

Latin municipal schools at St. Martin and St. Katharina.[1]

The school in Zwickau was at its full height of prosperity at the close of the Middle Ages. The pupils, whose number in 1490 amounted to 900, were divided into four classes, and received their instruction in a building three stories high, erected at the expense of the burgher Martin Römer. The maintenance of the school was provided for by numerous endowments from clergy and burghers. In the year 1518 a new school fraternity was founded for the support of this institution, and in the same year the town council voted a substantial salary for instruction in Greek; Hebrew also was taught in this school.[2] In the town school at Görlitz, at which, in 1491, there were a rector, four Baccalaureates (B.A.s) and one cantor, the number of pupils varied from 500 to 600.

The gymnasium at Emmerich on the Lower Rhine, which from 1503 had been carried on according to a well-organised plan of division into six classes, counted in 1510 about 450, and in 1521 about 1500 pupils.[3]

The institute for study at Schlettstadt in Alsace developed under Ludwig Dringenberg into a gymnasium of the first rank, in which, side by side with classical

[1] Koldewey, p. liii. f. ** Biographical contributions to the history of the schools of the sixteenth century (especially those of the golden period of humanism at the beginning of the century) for the schools in Breslau, Büdingen, Eisenach, Freiberg in Saxony, Grossenhain in Saxony, Liegnitz, Lüneburg Neisse, Rothenburg-an-der-Tauber, Saltzwedel, Stendal, Wittenberg, Zittau, are published by G. Bauch in the *Mittheilungen der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, v. (1895) 1–26.

[2] Weller, *Altes*, ii. 482 ff., 490. Kämmel, *Joh. Hass*, 47, 215, No. 86. F. Falk, 'Martin Römer,' in the Mayence *Katholik*, 1891, i. 70–77. Paulsen, p. 121.

[3] Köhler, *Rückblick*, pp. 19, 23. Cf. vol. i. (Janssen) p. 73.

studies, the history of the fatherland was zealously studied. From this institute there went forth Geiler von Kaisersberg and Jacob Wimpheling; in the year 1517 its scholars numbered 900.[1]

At the three collegiate schools at Frankfort-on-the-Main the number of pupils in 1478 was 318; at one of these, the St. Leonard's school, Greek and Hebrew were also taught.[2] At Nuremberg, towards the end of the fifteenth century, there were four Latin schools under four rectors with twelve assistants; a newly established 'poetic school' was placed in 1515 under the direction of the humanist John Cochlaeus.[3]

At Augsburg at the beginning of the fifteenth century there were five clerical schools. At a religious procession in 1503 the number of canons and vicars of the cathedral church, with that of the pupils, amounted to 110; the number of canons and vicars of St. Moritz with that of the pupils to 138; the canons of St. George and the pupils to 55; the members of the convent of St. Ulrich with the pupils to 106. At the convent school of St. Ulrich the humanist Ottmar Nachtigall, styled Luscinius, was appointed teacher of Greek in 1520; the

[1] Cf. vol. i. (Janssen) p. 77. [2] Kriegk, ii. 88, 106.

[3] Paulsen, pp. 105–106. Otto, pp. 12–14. ** S. Günther (geographical instruction at a Nuremberg *Mittelschule*, before Melanchthon, in the *Mittheilungen der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, vii. (1997) 11–21) draws attention to a fact, too little noticed hitherto in the history of didactics (p. 12): 'The man who first in Germany not only insisted on recognition of geography as an obligatory subject in middle schools, but was also instrumental in establishing it in the curriculum, was John Cochlaeus, from 1510–1514 school-rector at the St. Lorenz school at Nuremberg. Cf. also concerning the work of Cochlaeus at Nuremberg Spahn, pp. 14–23. Extracts from the *Quadrivium Grammatices Joannis Coclaei Norici Artium Magistri Norimbergae nuper elucubratum* of the year 1511 are given by Joh. Müller, *Quellenschriften*, pp. 43–49; and also *l.c.* pp. 252–254.

monk Veit Bild, a man of distinguished acquirements also in mathematics and in natural science, directed the Hebrew studies. In addition to the so-called five Latin schools, private teachers, some of them scholars of note, gave instruction in Latin and the liberal arts.[1]

In many of the cathedral schools and abbeys, active competition had been kept up since the middle of the fifteenth century for raising study to a higher level. Among the abbots themselves many had been eminent as sound scholars, and others had at any rate taken an interest in promoting education in their convents, in providing libraries and other aids to study, and in having young members of religious orders trained in the universities. The Bavarian cloisters of Scheyern, Rohr, Füssen, Tegernsee, Ober- and Niederaltaich, St. Emmerau, Waldsassen and others became especially famous for educational zeal. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the study of Greek and Hebrew was pursued in numbers of cloisters, and Abbot Wolfgang von Alderspach was able to state in his annals that a knowledge of the three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was now so common, that without it nobody could be regarded as a scholar.[2]

[1] Fuller details concerning the above are given by J. Hans in the 'Beiträge zur Gesch. des Augsburger Schulwesens im Mittelalter' in the *Zeitschr. des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, ii. 92–104, and in H. A. Lier, 'Der Augsburger Humanistenkreis' in the same *Zeitschrift*, vii. 70–80. Cf. Paulsen, pp. 108–109.

[2] Cf. Paulsen, pp. 112–113. ** The beginnings of the study of the Greek language and literature in North Germany are discussed by G. Bauch in the *Mittheil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, vi. (1896) 47–74, 75–98, 163–193. He deals exhaustively with the cultivation of Greek in the high schools at Erfurt, Wittenberg, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Leipzig, Greifswald and Rostock, between the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and accurate bibliographical details are supplied.

At Münster in Westphalia it was the abbey provost, Rudolf von Langen († 1519), the first Church dignitary next to the bishop, who, having made acquaintance with Italian humanism during many years of travel in Italy, and being himself a Latin poet, devoted himself indefatigably to the furtherance of humanist studies, and turned the Westphalian episcopal town into a centre and hotbed of humanist endeavour, so that from the cathedral of Münster numbers of other towns were supplied with first-class teachers. Under the humanist John Murmellius the cathedral school enjoyed such high repute that it attracted pupils from great distances, even from Pomerania; after 1512, in which year the humanist John Caesarius began there his career of Greek instructor, the pupils were divided into six classes.[1]

The whole of North Germany felt the influence of the 'Brothers of the Common Life,' who combined with the most faithful adherence to the religious life an equal zeal for classical studies. From their schools and seminaries, especially from those of Deventer, Zwolle,[2] Louvain and Liège, there went forth shoals of scholars who laboured as schoolmen in Germany; John Sturm also, later on the renowned pedagogue of Strassburg, was among the number of their pupils. In 1521, when, at about the same time as his friend John Sleidan,

[1] See our remarks vol. i. p. 72. Köhler, *Rückblick*, p. 23. Paulsen, pp. 116–117. ** Cf. D. Reichling, *Zur Geschichte der Münsterschen Domschule in der Blütezeit des Humanismus*, (Festschrift) Münster 1898, and Egen, *Der Einfluss der Münsterschen Domschule auf die Ausbreitung des Humanismus*, (Festschrift) Münster 1898. D. Reichling, *Die Reform der Domschule zu Münster im Jahre* 1900, Berlin 1900.—*Texte und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, ii.

[2] Cf. Schwengen, *Die Schule von Zwolle*, i., Freiburg 1893.

the later historian, he entered the Liège 'Brother School,' there were about 1600 pupils in it; the division of the institute into eight classes, and indeed its entire organisation, became to him a model for his own undertaking.[1]

Thus in almost all districts of Germany, far away in the mountain valleys of the Alps, educational institutes, greater and smaller, many of them of considerable importance, were seen springing up, and humanist studies gained wider and wider footing, until the proclamation of the new Church doctrines and the religious revolution reduced the empire in a short time to a general state of anarchy.[2]

Of the teachers themselves, numbers were drawn into the chaos and confusion by the dazzling promises 'evangelical freedom' held out; others, firmer in faith and more deliberate in action, attempted the difficult work of carrying on the education of the young in the same sense and spirit as before; but the restlessness of the times brought disorder almost everywhere, and the young people themselves developed the same spirit of turmoil and insubordination which had taken possession of their more mature countrymen. When all authority began to totter, that of the teacher could not remain unshaken. Public interest and attention were drawn away from the quiet, unexacting pursuit of

[1] Chr. Schmidt, *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*, Strassburg, 1855, p. 2 ff. Sturm's Strassburg school plan of the year 1538, of which we shall speak later on, was formed from the Liège model.

[2] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, says Paulsen, p. 260, all who possessed influence and importance, power and courage, applied themselves to the new studies: prelates, princes, towns, and above all youthful students themselves. Shortly after the outbreak of the religious revolution 'all this was changed.'

learning to the uproar of religious controversies. From the pulpits the infection spread to the chancelleries of princes and the council halls of towns, to barbers' shops and to taverns, and even, with the most serious results for study, into educational institutes. The high esteem which scholars had enjoyed was transferred to the restless demagogues of the hour, who now raised their voices against pope and bishops, now proclaimed new and unheard-of dogmas of faith, and declared war indiscriminately on study of every description, while at the same time they ruthlessly attacked the secular government, and launched out also in sermons and pamphlets against the whole existing order of society.

Among the innovations with which the conditions of study were daily assailed, none had such a paralysing, deadening effect as the doctrine that good works were of no value for salvation. This teaching dried up at its source the stream of generous charity and sacrifice which till then had nourished countless institutions and organisations of Christian benevolence, and above all had given birth and maintenance, often on a noble scale, to multitudes of school endowments. Veneration for the pious bequests of ancestors went to the winds; high and low laid violent hands upon them. Even the leaders of the religious upheaval made the general complaint that all love for the good of mankind, present and future, had vanished before the selfish greed of amassing wealth and spending it in luxurious enjoyment. The schoolmen who had of old been esteemed and honoured in public life as the imparters of the most valuable intellectual treasures, and who had received fitting and liberal—often indeed rich—remuneration, sank in the eyes of the masses to the status of a wage-earner,

who for scanty pay had to keep the turbulent young within bounds. Whereas formerly the burgomasters and the town councillors had held it an honour to patronise and encourage education, now most of them could scarcely be prevailed on by the most insistent entreaties to increase the salaries of needy teachers, really in want of the necessaries of life. Too often these men looked on with indifference at the decay and ruin of schools.[1]

[1] For the condition of teachers at the close of the Middle Ages see our remarks, vol. i. p. 25 ff. For the miserable payment of teachers later on we shall bring forward innumerable proofs in the following chapters.

CHAPTER I

DECLINE OF THE OLD SCHOOLS AFTER THE SPLIT IN THE CHURCH [1]

In a manifesto to the burgomasters and town councillors Luther complained in 1524: 'We are now discovering

[1] ** The papers by the Protestant pastor, G. Bossert, 'Die Wirkung der Reformation auf Schule und Bildung nach Janssen,' in the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 27 Jahrg. (1894), Nos. 29–31, pp. 677–680, 700–704, 725–728, attempt, in opposition to Janssen, to depreciate the value of medieval school conditions—this, however, more by asseveration than by positive facts. For the grossly fallacious nature of his polemics cf. p. 12, note 1. Even at the end of the first three columns he thinks to have demolished Janssen before his exacting public (p. 680): 'It is enough to have shown up in the one chapter, "das Schulwesen," the utter untenableness of Janssen's position, its insufficient foundation and its contradictoriness. His ingrained error of the contrast between the "excellence" of the Middle Ages and the "corruption" of the Reformation century takes bitter revenge of him.' The other sections of Janssen (vol. vii.) therefore, in the two continuations of Bossert's article, only come in for scattered remarks in the same spirit; the few allusions among these to individual scholars which are worth noticing are dealt with by me in their proper place. A more objective sense is shown, in part at any rate, in the essay of Fr. Roth, *Der Einfluss des Humanismus und der Reformation auf das gleichzeitige Erziehung- u. Schulwesen* (1898), which, although occasionally polemising against the so-called one-sidedness of Catholic historians, while for its own part it is nothing less than free from Protestant one-sidedness, nevertheless does in the main recognise all the unfavourable influences of the sixteenth century religious innovations on education, as they are shown up by Janssen. In the further development, however, of Protestant schools, newly founded and organised after the first upheaval, he is pleased to see the fullest possible light, but he depicts these schools more in the ideal condition at which the reformers, the leading schoolmen, and the school plans aimed, than in that which was actually accomplished; while the patent evils are only incidentally touched upon, or else excused with glances at the Catholic side where things were no better.

throughout German lands how everywhere the schools have been allowed to decay. The high schools are losing strength, cloisters are diminishing: where cloisters and foundations are removed, nobody will any longer allow children to learn and study'; 'if the clerical estate is of no value, we will also let learning drop out and do no more for it.' All this, he declared, was the work of the devil. Under the papacy the devil had spread his net by the erection of cloisters and schools, 'so that it was not possible for a single boy to escape him, except by a special miracle of God'; now, however, since his wiles had been betrayed by the Word of God 'he would not allow anything to be learnt.' [1]

[1] C. von Raumer, who in his *Geschichte der Pedagogik*, i. 150–169, quotes Luther's writing, omits the important passages about the rise and decline of the old Catholic schools. ** Janssen's use of Luther's manifesto instigates Bossert (*Die Wirkung der Reformation*, p. 678) to the following argument: 'The schools which existed in the Middle Ages were in the first place Latin schools. Their object was to give a purely formal training as a preparation for some post in the Church or in the State. This was clearly recognised by Luther in the manifesto which he sent 'to all the burgomasters and councillors of all the towns in Germany,' for he writes: 'Had it not been that they were only thinking of their children's stomachs, and seeking temporal provision for them in cloisters and abbey schools, or in the clerical estate, had they been earnestly seeking the true welfare and salvation of their children, they would not have been so negligent and indifferent about their schooling (*Braunschw. Luth.-Ausg.* p. xxxvii), a passage which Janssen (p. 11) naturally leaves out. Universal popular education for the sake of 'the children's spiritual welfare and salvation' is an entirely new idea, and a Protestant idea which, it stands to reason, could not be realised in one day, and which did not only relate to the education of boys, but also to that of girls. Concerning the retrogression of higher education under the influence of the Reformation, which Bossert cannot deny, he remarks, p. 679: 'But how impossible it is for people to understand why the Reformation at first produced among the people a deep-seated objection to learned studies, when they do not take into account that the Reformation restored to work, to secular industry, its proper value and its nobility! [! !]. In the Middle Ages handicraft was despised; the beggar-monk was a far holier man than his brother in the workshop; the consecrated priest, as such, was a "gentleman." This

'No one realises the shame and harm of this devilish scheme; it is carried out unnoticed, and the damage

nimbus melted away, and the popular mind turned with disgust against the illusion by which it had been deceived; young people were kept back from study until Germany had learned anew to reverence service and intellectual work in Church and State.' In answer to this it must be insisted on (1) that Bossert had not rightly grasped the object of Luther's manifesto. That the assertion 'the object of Latin schools was a purely intellectual training, &c.' by no means follows from Luther's manifesto. Only compare the introduction to this document in the Weimar edition, xv. (1899) 9 ff. 'Luther,' it says here, 'combated the depreciation of learned studies. The reason of this depreciation was "chiefly the strong military spirit of the age." In connection with the culture of the towns, already full-blown in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and further, under the influence of the great economic changes resulting from the discoveries and inventions of the age, there had spread over wide circles of German society a dull, materialising spirit, bent only on utility and gain. Preference was given to the German writing and arithmetic schools which prepared their pupils for the business of handicraftsmen and tradesmen, for—so went the saying—*Gelehrte sind Verkehrte* (learned men are perverted men; men turned the wrong way). It is highly significant of the attitude of the reformer towards the education question of his day, that he did not prefer these German elementary schools, in which after all we recognise the beginnings of national schools, but, while fully acknowledging their importance, he urged emphatically the necessity of learned schools, as opposed to the others.' Luther also touched on the question of popular schools. It is not, however, an accurate description of the Reformation pamphlet in question to say that 'it was enormously fruitful in results for the development of our elementary school system' (*Monum. Germ. Paedag.* iii. 111). For, as already indicated, the whole pith of its arguments, answering to the crying needs of the time, hinges manifestly on the necessity for encouraging the foundation and maintenance of learned schools in order to build up efficient guiding forces for the Church and the commonwealth. Before Luther's time it had already been taught that schools should also have regard to the 'children's spiritual welfare and salvation.' Cf. Lateran Council under Leo X, in Raynald, ad an. 1514 *n.* 29: 'Quum omnis aetas ab adolescentia prona sit ad malum, et a teneris assuefieri ad bonum magni sit operis et affectus, statuimus et ordinamus ut magistri scholarum et praeceptores pueros sive adolescentes non solum in grammatica et rhetorica ac ceteris hujusmodi scientiis erudire et instruere debeant, verum etiam docere teneantur quae *ad religionem* pertinent, ut sunt praecepta divina, articuli fidei, sacri hymni et psalmi ac vitae sanctorum, diebusque festis nihil aliud eos docere possint quam in rebus *ad religionem* et *bonos mores* pertinentibus, eosque in illis instruere, hortari et cogere in quantum possunt, teneantur.'

will be done before people are aware of it or able to prevent it. The Turks, wars, floods are feared because known and understood, but not so the devil's work. People heed him not. And yet if it is fair to give a florin against the Turk, it is equally fair to give a hundred for turning a boy into a good Christian man.

'When I was young,' Luther goes on, 'there was a maxim in vogue in schools: "It is not less base to neglect a pupil than to dishonour a maiden." This was said in order to frighten the schoolmasters, for in those days it was well known that there is no more heinous sin than to disgrace a young woman. But, ah, dear Lord God! how much less serious it is to dishonour women—which being a temporal sin, and recognised as sinful, can be done penance for—than to neglect and

The same opinion was held by all the best schoolmasters. Cf. Knepper, *Wimpheling*, p. 8, note 2. Crato Hofmann, *Litteras cum sanctis moribus edocebat.* Cf. in the same place pp. 84, 277; cf. also Janssen, i. 26, 77. (2) In Luther's address (Weimar edition, xv. 27–53) the passage in question (p. 28) runs as follows: 'Because the fleshly herd sees that it can and must no longer push its sons, daughters and friends into convents and abbeys . . . they will none of them any longer allow their children to learn and study. Yes, indeed, they say, why should we make them learn if they are not to be priests and monks and nuns? Let them learn something by which they will be able to maintain themselves. How much care for piety these people have in their minds is sufficiently shown by their own confession. For if they had not been only thinking of,' &c. (as in Bossert) . . . 'But that the devil is taking up the matter and giving the people fleshly hearts of the world, so that they neglect the poor young things, is no wonder. . . . He is a prince and god of the world. . . .' The devil 'will not allow anything to be learnt nowadays.' This passage also disposes of Bossert's second remark that, 'disinclination for learned studies had set in because the Reformation restored its proper dignity to labour.' Apart from the fact that before Luther's time the Germans knew how to value labour, Luther ascribes the distaste for learned studies to the devil. Thus what Bossert describes as a result of the Reformation view of the dignity of work, is by Luther himself branded as devil's work. We can therefore only congratulate Janssen on such an opponent as Bossert.

dishonour noble souls, to do which is not regarded as a sin, and is never confessed and atoned for.'[1] 'Woe, woe to the world, for ever and eternally. Every day children are being born and growing up around us, and, alas! there is no one to take care of the poor young things and to train them, so they are left to do what they will.' 'Dear gentlemen, when so much has to be spent every year on fire-arms, roads, bridges, dams and so forth, in order that a town may enjoy material peace and comfort, why should not as much be spent on the poor necessitous young children, enough at any rate to maintain one or two efficient schoolmasters?' By means of the 'evangel' proclaimed by him, he explains, the burghers had been released from so many large payments which they had had to discharge under the papacy, that they might surely give a tenth part of this to the restoration of schools. 'Every burgher should reason thus with himself: hitherto he had been obliged to spend so much money and goods on indulgences, masses, vigils, endowments, bequests, anniversaries, mendicant friars, brotherhoods, pilgrimages, and all the rest of the vermin, and now that by God's grace such robbing and giving is at an end, should he not henceforth, to the praise and honour of God, give a part of it all to the schools, to educate the poor children: for would he not have had to give ten times more to the above-named robbers, and still to go on giving for ever and ever, if this light of the Gospel had not come to set him free from such a burden?' From the common people, he says, nothing is to be expected towards the erection of schools; these had hitherto done nothing,

[1] These passages also, beginning at 'when I was young,' are left out by von Raumer.

and could do nothing; princes and lords who ought to do it were obliged to drive in sledges, to drink and visit theatres; they were so busily engaged in the high and important affairs of the cellar, the kitchen and the bedchamber that they had no time. 'Therefore, dear gentlemen councillors, the matter is in your hands alone; you have also more ability for the task than princes and lords.' [1]

However, five years later, in 1529, Luther complained: 'The members of town councils, and nearly all the municipal authorities, let the schools go to ruin, as though they had had absolution from all responsibility. Nobody seems to think that God earnestly wills that the children He sends us should be brought up to His praise and for His service, which cannot be done without schools; but everybody nowadays is in a hurry and scurry for his children to be earning temporal sustenance.' [2]

How well-grounded were Luther's complaints of the decay of schools was first seen in the Electorate of Saxony. In October 1525 Luther had represented to the Elector that 'Disorder was so general in his land that, if resolute measures were not adopted and adequate organisation set on foot, in a short time there

[1] Collected Works, xxii. 172–199. In this same year, 1524, Luther wrote in a letter to his followers in Riga and Livonia: 'I have preached and written much to the effect that good schools should be built in the towns,' but they set about it so lazily and indolently as if everybody despaired of obtaining food and temporal goods by teaching or learning; it will come to this that schoolmasters and preachers will have to turn to handwork to keep themselves from starvation. Whilst formerly hundreds of clergy and monks were maintained with the greatest abundance, now 'in German lands there is such a poor, wretched, God-forsaken state of things' that one can scarcely collect 100 or 200 florins for schools and pulpits. Collected Works, xii. 131–132.

[2] Collected Works, xxxi. 60.

would be neither parsonages, nor schools, nor scholars left.'[1] In November of the following year he wrote again beseechingly to his territorial lord: 'There is no longer any fear of God or any discipline, for the Pope's bann is removed, and everyone does as he likes.' For disciplining the poor young children there was need of both preachers and schools. 'If the parents will not look after them, they are left to go to the devil. But when the young are neglected and left without education, the blame lies with the ruling authorities, and moreover the land becomes overrun with lewd, ungovernable people, so that not only God's command, but also our own interest, requires that we should take some action in the matter.' Whereas all the cloisters and bishoprics had lapsed into the hands of the Elector, on him were laid 'the duty and burden of setting these things to rights,' nobody else would or could take this initiative. As 'chief guardian of the young' the Elector 'must authoritatively compel the burghers and peasants to maintain preachers and schools, just as with authority they were compelled to provide bridges, footpaths and roads, or to supply any other wants of the country; those who were disabled from work must be maintained out of the convent goods, 'for your Electoral Highness may easily imagine that there will be an ill cry in the land—and who shall blame it?—if the schools and parsonages go to ruin.'[2]

Nevertheless all admonitions were in vain. Luther accordingly raised his voice again to the whole of Germany in 1530. In a 'sermon which was to be preached before the children in school,' he said: 'It is one of the most cunning tricks of the devil to deceive

[1] De Wette, iii. 39. [2] Collected Works, iii. 135–137.

and mislead the common people into not sending their children to school or allowing them to have any instruction; he puts into their heads mischievous thoughts such as: Since there is no longer any hope, as formerly, of their becoming monks, or nuns, or priests, there is no longer any need of scholars, or of much study; they must set to work to see how they can earn their living, and grow rich.' But if writing and art are done away with, 'what will be left in German lands but wild, demoralised crowds of Tartars or Turks, or indeed herds of sows and wild beasts? Dear friends, seeing as I do that the common people set themselves against supporting schools, and draw their children quite away from learning and think only of feeding their stomachs, and moreover that they either will not or cannot see how great and murderous a shame it is to act like this and do service to the devil, I have undertaken to address this admonition to you, in the hopes that there may be still a few people who have some faith that there is a God in heaven and a hell for the unbelievers (for the whole world is going on as if there were no God in heaven and no devil in hell), and who may listen with respect to my exhortation. I will further expose the gains and losses in this matter.' So long as Germany was still in the clutches of the papacy 'all purses were open and giving to churches and schools had no bounds'; 'then children could be driven, pushed, forced into convents, abbeys, churches, schools, regardless of cost'; now, however, that proper schools and proper churches are to be built, or rather not built but only maintained, 'purses are all shut fast with iron clasps; now there is nobody who can give; and, in addition to not giving, they snatch the children away, and because the Church has nothing

tangible to give them back, they will not allow them to be at least nourished by the Church, and to be made fit for such salutary offices, in which their temporal wants will also be provided for without the parents doing anything towards it.'

In order to refill the deserted schools, Luther advised recourse to the Turkish custom of compulsory school attendance. 'I am of opinion,' he said, 'that rulers are bound to compel their subjects to send their children to school. Rulers are responsible for maintaining offices and professions, preachers, jurists, pastors, recorders, doctors, schoolmasters, and such like, for they cannot be dispensed with. If they can compel their subjects—those who are fit for it—to carry spears and muskets, to man the walls, and do other services when they want to go to war, how much more are they entitled and bound to compel their subjects to send their children to school, since here it is a question of a far fiercer war with the devil himself.' 'If the Turk takes every third child in his kingdom and trains it for whatever post he pleases, how much more should our rulers place a certain number of boys at school, not taking the children away from their parents, but training them up, for their own benefit and the common good, to fill some suitable post where they will be sufficiently remunerated.' [1]

[1] * Collected Works, xx. 5–8, 43–44. ** The Protestant Roth writes with a frankness deserving of recognition (*Einfluss des Humanismus*, p. 19 f.): 'The transference (through Luther) of the management of education to the secular authorities was something new, for up till then it had been almost exclusively in the hands of the Church. Luther certainly had urgent reasons for setting every lever in motion, for the first results of the Reformation, as far as schools were concerned, were from the nature of things destructive, or at any rate hindering. The fresh impetus which study had received under the influence of humanism had only too quickly subsided; the scientific and learned interests represented by the humanists

A very great number of the preachers of the new doctrine were directly to blame for the decay of schools

had been repulsed by the all-absorbing force of religious questions, the most widely esteemed colleges at the very height even of their promise, such as Erfurt, and even Wittenberg, were overtaken with rapid deterioration. A general state of insolvency had set in. In many cases incomes ceased, the payment of taxes often failed in the anarchic state of affairs, the secular authorities appropriated church goods and convents, without, however, showing the least inclination for the concomitant responsibilities towards clergymen and teachers, so that multitudes of lower schools also either fell into decay or collapsed altogether. Many terror-stricken minds foreboded a fresh era of barbarism. Much mischief was also done by those singular views, opposed to learned study of every kind, which emanated from Karlstadt, as also from the kindred opinions of the so-called Zwickau prophets, which appear to have gained considerable acceptance.' The address 'to the burgomasters and councillors of all the towns in German lands' of the year 1524, in which Luther took up the cudgels against the anti-culture movement amongst the preachers of the religious innovation, is, says Roth (*l.c.* 20 f.), 'equally important as an historic document, giving a clear view of the relation of Luther (and of the reformers in general) to the educational questions of their day, as it is also on account of the important issues which resulted from an admirable witness to the intense earnestness with which Luther, in this respect also, conceived and fulfilled his spiritual obligations.' Concerning 'Luther's sermon which was to be read to all school-children,' of the year 1530, from which the passages cited in the text are taken, cf. Roth, *l.c.* 23 f. Roth might indeed (p. 35 ff.) seem to be estimating the distaste for learning which developed after the close of the fifteenth century from statistics and data based solely on considerations of enjoyment and material well-being, but at p. 37 f. he says further: 'Other unfavourable factors are connected with the Reformation as such. While Luther, in order to kindle anew the spirit of learning in the sense of the Gospel, entered the lists against the rotten condition of the school systems of his day—above all against the universities—he referred to the already mentioned hostile attitude towards education, which not only rejected the existing methods of education attacked by himself, but every kind of learned study, on the plea that the understanding of the Word of God did not come by means of human learning but by direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost. When Erasmus exclaimed indignantly: 'Wherever Lutheranism reigns, learning and science go to the ground!' he was guilty, so far as Luther and his followers are concerned, of gross injustice, for the reformers from the outset combated this tendency to depreciate learning as a hostile obstruction to their work and designs. . . . All the same it is an established fact that only too many lent a willing ear to the tales of the deceivers!'

and education. They declared war against all efforts to spread learning, and warned the young from the pulpit to desist from study. 'It is sad,' said the humanist, Eobanus Hessus, a warm adherent of Luther, 'that monsters of this sort can get a hearing at the present day.'[1] Melanchthon insisted that all such preachers ought to have their tongues cut out.[2] 'The schools are in a wretched condition,' was the report of Anton Musa, one of the school inspectors of the Saxon Electorate in 1539; 'it is not only that there is a dearth of schoolmasters, the great fault lies with the common people, who will have their children trained only for handwork. Preachers devoid of understanding have taught the people that Latin and all languages, together with the fine arts, are of no use for anything'; but the worst of all was that the whole tendency of the age was directed against the learned class, above all against the clerical estate, which had quite lost its prestige.[3]

The same condition of things prevailed in other districts. 'We are far from pleased,' wrote the Margrave George of Ansbach in 1531, 'to hear that everybody is so averse to school, but we think the blame attaches in the first place to those preachers who inveigh so strongly against study, and teach that children should be trained up as handworkers.'[4] The Bavarian historian Aventin could not find words enough to abuse those who were so 'opposed to Luther; but as regards the schools,' he said, in 1529, of those 'who call them-

[1] Cf. Kampschulte, *Erfurt*, ii. 199–200.

[2] *Corp. Reform.* i. 666.

[3] Burckhardt, pp. 79–80. 'The schools declined in attendance and importance'; 'the period had completely lost all taste and inclination for the learned vocations,' p. 205.

[4] Döllinger, i. 425.

selves evangelical,' 'They spend their days and nights over the German Bible and writings, pretend that they understand it all, and do not need the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, which God has now again sent so graciously and abundantly; they also despise the grace of God, the gifts of the Holy Ghost, let the schools go to ruin, and will not allow their children to learn those languages, and other arts which are necessary to their understanding of the Scriptures.' They will surely not escape punishment for this. 'It will happen to them as it happened to the Jews, they will become blind to the truth of Scripture if they do not study it in a different manner, and let their children study, but remove the learned people who are able to teach the children and keep schools up to the mark. For as the pagan Aristotle says, it all depends upon discipline and training how a child turns out. Therefore, where the schools are not looked after, he says further, there can never be any good government.' [1]

Enoch Widmann, in his town chronicles of Hof, speaks as follows respecting what seems to him a chief cause of the collapse of schools: 'About the year 1525 the schools began to fall off, for scarcely any parents any longer sent their children to school, or allowed them to study, because the people had learnt from Luther's writings that they had been grossly deceived by the priests and learned men; and so everybody had become so hostile to priests that the latter were mocked and annoyed wherever they went.' [2] In the Church ordinance of Hall, compiled in 1526 by John Brenz, it says: 'Hitherto children have been sent to school in large numbers, but now that the work of the

[1] Aventin, i. 223–229. [2] Mencken, iii. 741.

priests has had a blow children are all kept at home.' [1] 'The children are no longer allowed,' said the three superintendents of Ansbach in 1531, 'to learn anything of any value, for it is now the general opinion that priests, doctors, magisters and bachelors of art, and scholars are no longer required in either Church or State, because there is no longer any demand for popish monks and Mass-priests. If some other arrangements are not made there will ensue such a demoralised, chaotic state of things that in course of time there will no longer be any possibility of obtaining preachers or jurists.' [2] The preacher Adolf Clarenbach, in 1527, like Luther, laid the blame of the collapse of schools on the devil. 'The devil,' he said, in a letter to the council and community of the town of Lennep, 'understands perfectly well now that without a knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin no one can rightly understand or teach the Scriptures; hence he is busy at work among all the Christians causing them to let schools go to ruin—the same schools on which formerly he set high value because they were most useful to him in governing the world through his Papists.' [3]

But in whatever different ways the decline of schools might be explained, the fact itself could not be denied.

'The young people,' wrote the Hessian chronicler, Wigand Lauze, in 1527, 'have been so greatly misled that very few of them devote themselves to study; the generality of them turn their attention to various kinds of handwork. Consequently, everywhere in towns and provinces learned studies have fallen into disrepute

[1] Vormbaum, p. 1, note 1.
[2] Döllinger, i. 424. [3] Döllinger, i. 537.

and gone out of fashion, the schools are deserted, and nobody wants to send his children to school; also the arts, which are highly essential and indispensable, have come to be treated with contempt by the common people.'[1] In like manner the Protestant Church ordinance of the town of Minden in 1530 complained of 'the damnable condition' in which there was none left who would allow their children to learn anything.[2] From Basle in 1529 came the complaint of the Zwinglian Œcolampadius: 'Nearly all the schools have become abominable and in those hitherto attended by numbers of boys only a few are now to be seen, not more than at the time of a plague, and the good and useful things are treated with the same contempt as useless ones.'[3] In a pamphlet on the education of boys, the Swiss, Conrad Clauser, said in 1554: 'If only the schools and academies which have lately been so pitifully destroyed were restored, the ecclesiastical offices would recover their proper dignity.'[4]

In a Protestant Church ordinance for all the Germans in Transylvania it says: 'The schools everywhere erected at the common expense of our grandfathers have, during a long course of unfavourable times, been allowed to fall into decay through the neglect of sundry officials.' It has therefore been resolved 'that the schools of the Germans in Transylvania, with their buildings and endowments, shall be restored to a proper

[1] Lauze, i. 141. Vormbaum, i. 33 note. Quite erroneously Vormbaum (i. 33 note) refers this passage to the condition of Hessian schools before the Reformation, which he says 'was a very lamentable one.'

[2] Däke, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Gymnasiums zu Minden* (Minden, 1830), p. 7.

[3] Thommen, p. 303.

[4] Döllinger, i. 500 note.

state, and efficient schoolmasters everywhere placed in them in order that this Fatherland, which in the midst of enemies is so graciously favoured by God, should not through neglect of the authorities who have sworn to watch over it lapse into a thoroughly heathen condition.' [1]

In those districts also which were under Catholic rule a decline of schools set in.

Thus, for instance, at Freiburg-in-the-Breisgau, the rector of the Latin school which had formerly had at times an attendance of 400 boys [2] complained to the council in 1530 of the large decrease in the number of pupils, giving as reasons for this falling off that the Mass and the rest of divine service was now despised, and that parents preferred the German *Privatschulen* (elementary schools) in which only German reading and writing and arithmetic were taught, and this because they considered that 'Latin brought little profit to their children.' [3] The Bavarian provincial ordinance of 1553 pointed out that 'the Latin schools in the towns and villages had fallen off'; these must be restored and provided with efficient schoolmasters.[4]

Twenty years earlier King Ferdinand had written: 'The ordinary or particular schools (as distinct from

[1] Teutsch, p. 5.

[2] Cf. Bader, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg*, i. 530.

[3] *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für die Gesch. von Freiburg*, i[a]. 83. 'It must here be carefully noted,' says Kriegk, i. 358, 'that at that time the Latin language was not only used for church singing and worship, but that each individual who was in the slightest way connected with the service of the State and public affairs was expected to understand Latin thoroughly; only by taking this fact into consideration is it possible to estimate the full significance of the rejection of Latin instruction among the burghers.'

[4] *Bayerische Landesordnung*, fol. 106[a]; cf. von Freyberg, iii. 266.

universities) in towns, villages, convents, hospitals, and other places of Lower Austria have almost gone to ruin and must be restored and put in proper trim again.' [1] In Ferdinand's Reformation edict, sent in to the Council of Trent in 1562, it says: 'In all the German gymnasia put together there are nowadays not so many pupils as there were formerly in a single one.' [2] In the foundation charter of a college founded by the Ausgburg dean, Conrad Braun, the latter's executors said in 1564: 'The founder in his lifetime was greatly exercised in heart and mind at seeing that in these times there was such a great and growing dearth of really learned men in philosophy and in the higher faculties of the Holy Scriptures, in ecclesiastical and secular law and in medicine.' The chief cause of this state of things was that 'few people would send their children to school,' 'because they held all the highest subjects in contempt, and thought that more renown, profit and riches, and improved living were to be had through other manual arts than by means of the higher studies and arts.' Consequently it had 'alas! come about that where formerly a particular or three-course school, of which there were numbers in Germany, had counted 300 pupils, now there were scarcely twenty or thirty to be found in them, and in the higher schools where formerly there had been 1000 students, now there were not more than 300 or 400. Yes, it is now a fact, that nobody will pay the school fees, but the municipalities and lordships are expected not only to maintain tutors in the higher faculties, but also to provide high salaries for the

[1] Kink, ii. 332.

[2] 'In universis Germaniae gymnasiis vix tot studiosi adolescentes, quot olim in singulis erant, reperiuntur.' Le Plat, v. 240.

humblest pedagogues who were formerly supported by the fees of the pupils: indeed it is hard work nowadays to supply the universities and high schools with students for want of funds, food and clothing to keep them going.' [1]

[1] Werk, pp. 196–197.

CHAPTER II

COMMON SCHOOLS—PAYMENT OF TEACHERS—THE PUPILS AND THEIR TREATMENT

At the close of the Middle Ages both the higher educational institutions and the schools for the people had been in a flourishing condition in most parts of the Empire. In the written instructions of the Church the duty of educating the people was earnestly enjoined; the number of schools in the smaller towns and villages increased with every decade: no complaints are heard on the part of the teachers of insufficient pay; between the years 1400 and 1521 we can point to nearly 100 school ordinances and school contracts in German and Dutch.[1]

See our remarks, vol. i. 26 ff. ** See also the admirable remarks directed by Michael against Sander and Heppe in the *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes vom* 13. *Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, ii. (Freiburg 1890) 389, note 2. See further Joh. Müller, *Quellenschriften über das mittelalterl. Dorfschulwesen*, and Falk in *Mittheil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, iv. (1894) 277 f. For the Upper Palatinate see Hollweck, *Gesch. des Volksschulwesens in der Oberpfalz*, Ratisbon 1895. 'One is guilty of no historical inaccuracy,' says Hollweck, p. 29, 'in inferring, roundly, that from the fourteenth century onwards every market town or at any rate every bigger town in the Upper Palatinate had its own school.' P. 33 ff.: *Mittheilungen aus einer Nabburger Schulmeisterordnung vom Jahre* 1480, p. 40: 'It is an undeniable fact that, as far as the educational conditions of the people were concerned, a lively impulse to development and progress was given at the close of the Middle Ages. From decade to decade schools multiplied in all the German provinces.' The humanist Lucas Lossius received his first instruction in his native village of Fack, near Minden-on-the-Weser (Georges, p. 4). 'At

Popular education, therefore, had by no means begun first with the appearing of Luther. On the contrary, the religious revolution for a long period acted injuriously both on the higher institutions and on the people's schools in many places.

Inspectors of the Saxon Electorate who visited certain districts in 1526 implored the Elector to restore the town and village schools which had fallen into decay.[1] When two years later an inspectoral visit took place in the electoral circle of Wittenberg it was found that in 145 town and rural parishes, with their hundreds of affiliated districts, there were only twenty-one schools; that in Thuringia, in 187 parishes there were only nine schools; and in Meissen and the Voigtland, in eighty-seven parishes with 238 villages belonging to them, there was only one school. The only bright spot in this dismal picture was the Franconian portion of the electoral lands, where the schools of the Catholic times, both in towns and villages, were in full swing and adequate in numbers.[2]

From the reports of the inspectors from 1532 to

any rate,' says the author, 'there were a great many more schools before the Reformation than people are now generally willing to allow.' Concerning the school training for manual work in the fifteenth century Kriegk says (ii. 65): 'Many of the cash-books of the different towns contain as vouchers bills from locksmiths and glaziers, written in their own hand-writing. There are also in the archives autograph tenders of the fifteenth century by handworkers to the town councillors. In the town archives at Frankfort-on-the-Main there is a book which contains the names of all the journeymen locksmiths belonging to some brotherhood between 1417 and 1524; several hundreds of journeymen from all parts of Germany had written their names in it in their own handwriting, which shows that they had had school training.'

[1] Burkhardt, p. 14.

[2] Burkhardt, pp. 30–36. 'S' before the name of a place signifies the presence of a school in that place (xxv). In the Reuss lands the inspectors found only five schools in 1533, p. 107.

1545 it was shown that 'the town schools,' which before the introduction of Protestantism had provided for the material wants of the burgher and peasant children, had fallen off to a considerable extent.[1]

Far from any improvement following soon on this condition of things, the inspectors reported in 1573 that 'Not least among all the public evils which in the present day threaten to undermine the Church and the State is the collapse of the lower schools in all the towns.'[2]

Luther had repeatedly—above all, in 1524, in his address to the burgomasters and councillors of German towns—expressed the wish that the best possible schools for boys and girls should be set up in every locality.[3] As time went on numbers of Protestant school ordinances were issued, with the injunction that, not only in the towns but also in the country, provision was to be made for the instruction of boys and girls. 'It would be almost well,' it was said, for instance, in the school ordinance of Hall, drawn up by John Brenz in 1526, that for the young girls a good schoolmistress should be appointed who should give two hours' instruc-

[1] Burkhardt, p. 198.

[2] Döllinger, i. 540.

[3] See above, p. 16. 'A zealous, pious schoolmaster or magister, whoever he be, who faithfully teaches and disciplines the boys,' Luther wrote in 1530, 'cannot be adequately repaid with money, as even the pagan Aristotle says: and yet schoolmasters are so scandalously despised by us, as though education counted for nothing, and we call ourselves Christians forsooth!' (Collected Works, xx. 39-40.) ** For Luther's views on the general state of popular education cf. Roth, *Einfluss des Humanismus*, p. 15 ff., who, in his decidedly one-sided adhesion to the traditional 'Reformation-myth' says 'that the postulate of a general system of national education and of moral school discipline is immediately rooted in the fundamental doctrines of the Reformation' (p. 15); further, p. 42 ff., also for the organisation of girls' schools.

tion daily.[1] In Saxony, however, even before Luther and Melanchthon had drawn up their school plan in 1528, there was no longer any thought or mention of girls' schools; nor again in the Saxon school ordinance is there any allusion to the latter.[2] The village schools which were still being carried on there were so sparely attended that even from the vicinity of the capital, from the superintendency of Dresden, a report was sent in to the Government in 1578 to the effect that 'the custodes complain that they often have only three boys in attendance at the school; and even if the peasants send their children to school in the winter, they take them away in the summer to put them to farmwork.'[3]

[1] Vormbaum, i. 1 note. Cf. E. Linienklaus, *Zur Gesch. des Mädchen-unterrichts im Jahrhundert der Reformation* (Programme of the higher girls' school at Osnabrück, 1890), p. 5.

[2] On the whole, says Löschke (p. 17), 'It is considered a very remarkable exception when girls also attend the boys' schools; the towns which have German schools where girls are also admitted are very proud of themselves, but repeated attempts to found separate girls' schools have had little result. In a few large towns, however, special schools for girls existed in no small number; cf. Heppe, v. 298. ** Linienklaus, *l.c.* 6–7. The above-mentioned historian writes as follows (p. 11) concerning the instruction given in these schools: 'If we consider the work done in these schools, what was taught there and how it was taught, the instruction given to girls at that period seems indeed very slight, not only in the village schools but also in the girls' schools in towns, and it does not appear justifiable to regard the girls' schools of the sixteenth century as the germs of our higher schools for girls. They have in the main nothing further in common with these, than that they were exclusively attended by girls, and by girls who might later on have to manage domestic servants. For the rest, the elementary schools were of the most simple kind that can be imagined.'

[3] Fuller details concerning the Saxon village schools at that time are given in the careful treatise of Müller, *Kursächs. Schulwesen*, iii–xii. From the Mansfeld district Erasmus Sarcerius reported in 1555 that in the villages the posts of sexton and schoolmaster were often bestowed on quite unsuitable and even immoral people—sorcerers, exorcists, drunkards and gamblers. Neumeister, 'Sittliche Zustände im Mansfeldis-

The school ordinance of the year 1580 was the first to insist emphatically that the village clerks must carry on schools, and give instruction in reading, writing, and Christian hymns.[1] In the smaller towns at that time the German writing and arithmetic schools in which boys and girls were taught were very scarce, and even where they did exist they generally lacked support from municipal funds.[2]

From the Saxon inspectoral documents of 1617 it comes out that even the town councillors were ignorant of the arts of reading and writing.[3] 'It is lamentable,' says a Weimar school ordinance of 1619, 'that in the villages, and even in the towns, there are so few people among the handicraftsmen, servants and day-labourers who can either read or write.' 'In most places there are very few fathers of families who can write, and still fewer mothers; but among men-servants and maid-servants fewest of all.'[4]

In Oldenburg one of the first results of the introduction of Protestantism was that the schools in the county all went to ruin. The Butjadingers complained in 1568 that 'the vicars who had formerly maintained the schools had been discharged since the confiscation of the Church endowments, so that the schooling of the children had had to be discontinued.'[5]

The Brandenburg Church Ordinance of 1540 enjoined that: 'Whereas for some time past the schools

chen um 1555,' in the *Zeitschr. des Harzvereins*, xx. 523. ** Concerning Sarcerius see the treatise of Eskuche; Siegen (Progr.) 1901.

[1] Heppe, *Volksschulwesen*, ii. 176.

[2] For the German schools and the girls' schools cf. Müller, *Kursächs. Schulwesen*, xxv–xxx.

[3] Spittler, *Hannöv. Gesch.* ii. 220.

[4] Vormbaum, ii. 215, 255.

[5] Döllinger, i. 423.

have been markedly falling off, we hereby decree that in all towns and boroughs these said schools be restored, reformed, improved, and endowed with necessary provision and maintenance.' The effect of this ordinance may be estimated by the fact that it had to be repeated in 1572. Of improvement in many places there could scarcely be any question, so long as there was no reform of the evil conditions which were recognised by the Elector in his injunction that 'the Church patrons shall not, as heretofore, appoint to the office of preachers, tailors, shoemakers, or other impecunious handworkers and ne'er-do-weels, who do not understand grammar and cannot even read.' As for the schools, it was said again and again in electoral complaints, the squires care nothing at all for them; just as they have plundered churches and parsonages, so they rob schoolmasters of farm and home and leave the young to become demoralised.[1]

In other places also the same complaints were made. Numbers of squires, it says, for instance, in the 'Adelsspiegel,' of Cyriacus Spangenberg, allow 'the well-built schools erected by their forefathers or by other people to fall into decay.' 'Whenever do we hear now,' he asks, 'of any of the nobility giving ten, or even five, florins for the support of the schools and churches, which after all are the two best jewels of every country? Yea, verily, if they would only leave intact that which others have given!' Numbers of schools in former years 'had been adequately provided for, so much so that the teachers could be well paid out of the endow-

[1] Richter, *Evangel. Kirchenordnungen*, i. 333 and ii. 360. Spieker, *Musculus*, pp. 304–305.

ments; now, however, the squires took possession of all such revenues.' [1]

In the Pomeranian Church and school ordinance of 1563 no village schools are mentioned, and during the whole century we only hear of schools dating back to Catholic times, viz. those belonging to the Knights of St. John at Wildenbruch (1570) and to the villages under the cathedral chapter of Kammin (1595).[2]

For the 'German writing schools' there was little care or thought, and as for the instruction of the girls, so said this Church ordinance, it was only provided for in the large towns, where it was enjoined 'there must be schools for girls (*Jungfrauen-Schulen*) and the council and the pastor must appoint God-fearing, honourable mistresses who can teach reading and writing.' This order, however, was disregarded.[3]

[1] Adelspiegel, ii. 395, 423[b].

[2] Vormbaum, i. 177. Heppe, *Volksschulwesen*, iii. 3–4. Von Bülow, *Beiträge*, pp. 42–43.

[3] Von Bülow (p. 41) says: 'I cannot find a trace of a single properly appointed schoolmistress in Pomerania in the sixteenth century. Wherever in Stettin, for instance, any young woman or widow gathered around her a few girl-pupils, she was fiercely persecuted and complained of by the licensed German schoolmasters. The Scripture verse, 1 Corinthians, xiv. 34, received from the zeal of the complainants an addition contrary to the text: mulier taceat in ecclesia *et schola*. God undoubtedly wished His name to be spread abroad by women also, non autem docendo, sed discendo.' 'The repertory of hymns which the young people were taught from was not extensive. The Church ordinance of 1563 prescribes only for the lowest class the learning of the usual Latin and German hymns' (Von Bülow, *Beiträge*, pp. 28–29). The examples cited are almost all hymns from the earlier Catholic times; for instance at Christmas:

'Puer natus in Bethlehem,' Latin and German.
'Nunc angelorum gloria.'
'Resonet in laudibus.'
'*Joseph, lever Joseph min.*'
'In dulci jubilo.'
'Dies est laetitiae.'

Cf. Vormbaum, i. 170.

The Church and school ordinance issued in 1569 by Duke Julius of Brunswick takes no notice of the German schools.[1] Of the people's schools in the town of Brunswick, Nicodemus Frischlin said, in a speech delivered before the town councillors in 1588: 'When I think of the people's school in which the apples of their fathers' eyes, the darlings of their mothers, are huddled together, I am filled with pity for these poor little creatures, who are crowded together in a space where scarcely half of them could sit comfortably. And as, moreover, the school building is situated in a dark, poky corner of the town where no wind or air has access, how is it possible that in such close, smelling quarters—above all in the summer—the poor children should not be the victims of all sorts of diseases?'[2]

From Hesse the superintendent George Nigrinus wrote, in 1574, concerning the Protestant ruling authorities, that there certainly existed Church endowments for the schools, but these were wasted in the service of the devil. 'What do these lords and gentlemen do out of their own pockets for the schools? They spend more on vagabonds and jesters—yea, verily, on dogs and dog-keepers—than on school-children. Many a prince, without a thought, feeds great numbers of useless hangers-on. What think you? If a fourth part

[1] Heppe, iii. 235.

[2] Strauss, p. 422. ** W. Schnecke, the Lüneburg writing and arithmetic master, in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, iv. (1894) 111 ff., sums up the reports of all the available documents, from 1547 onwards, concerning the municipal writing and arithmetic schools of that place. Throughout the documents relating to the schoolmasters appointed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there run complaints from these men about insufficient incomes, and also of the increase of unlicensed schools, which took away most of their pupils and embittered their lives with envyings and jealousies.

of all this were spent on young boys and poor scholars would it not be profitable ?' But, he goes on, 'all this must not be mentioned or complained of. Nevertheless it is the bitter truth. All states and towns follow the example of the lords, so that nothing goes on well. No department is worse looked after than the schools and the poor school-children ; what is spent on them is counted as wasted, but no expense is spared on other kinds of buildings, on clothes, and feasting and drinking ; money is showered out in thousands for these things.' [1] Both churches and schools, he said elsewhere, 'must go to rack and ruin for want of funds, for the latter are daily lessened and never improved.' [2] 'There is great deficiency in the supply of schools,' wrote the Lutheran Anton Praetorius in 1602. 'I know counties and lordships where there are no schools at all.' [3]

In Hesse, in 1526, the Homberg Synod passed the resolution that 'in all towns, great and small, also in all villages, schools must be established' ; but thirty years later, on the occasion of an inspectoral visitation, in 1556, throughout the whole of Lower Hesse it was only in seven villages that any schools were found ; in 1569, in the county of Katzenelnbogen and in the lordship of Eppstein there were only six 'tolerably well-managed schools,' and they were only town schools. In Upper Hesse the Landgrave George I worked earnestly for the establishment of village schools ; at Grünberg a girls' school was started in 1579.[4]

Despite the zealous exertions of Protestant rulers it was nowhere easy to restore the earlier existing schools,

[1] Nigrinus, *Daniel*, pp. 20-21. [2] Nigrinus, p. 316.

[3] Praetorius, p. 169.

[4] Heppe, *Volksschulwesen*, i. 281-283, and ii. 26-32.

which had fallen into decay since the religious revolution. The Counts Philip the Elder and Philip the Younger of Waldeck issued in 1525 the stringent order: 'Whereas in our days the schools for children have so entirely fallen off and disappeared, it is our will and desire that the burgomasters and councillors in our towns and hamlets, where formerly schools were maintained, should see to it that these schools be restored, and provided with pious, learned schoolmasters'; 'these same schoolmasters must also be supplied with sufficient incomes.'[1] This order did not get beyond the paper it was written on. Only in Wildungen, in 1533, was an attempt made to establish a Catechism school. The Waldeck Church ordinance of 1556 made various regulations about Latin town schools, but took no notice of village schools.[2]

How matters stood with regard to national education in 1571 in the counties of Lippe, Spiegelberg, and Pyrmont may be gathered from the words of the Church ordinance of that year: 'In almost all the hamlets and villages the young lads are growing up without any teaching or discipline, just like unreasoning beasts, and they know scarcely anything about God and religion.' Concerning the clerks, whose duty it was to look after the schools, then follows the complaint that 'the people hitherto, to the great distress of the pastors, have at their own pleasure set up as clerks, ignorant, light-minded, objectionable, criminal, lewd, and godless rascals,' and that these men had afterwards given themselves up to necromancy, soothsaying, fortune-telling, to continuous drinking, treasure-digging,

[1] Heppe, *Volksschulwesen*, ii. 352–355.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 354–355.

or gold seeking.'[1] The county of Schaumburg was still without people's schools in 1614.[2]

In the county of Nassau the question whether German schools should not be established beside the Latin schools was first discussed in 1582, at a convention at Diez; there were then only two such schools. Concerning those which were called into existence at the end of the century the pastors report as follows: 'It is hardly possible to get the children to come to school in the winter—still less in the summer.'[3] In 1589 Count John of Nassau-Katzenelnbogen busied himself about the building of a girls' school in Herborn.[4]

The inspectors sent into the county of Hanau-Münzenberg, in 1561, found only one school in one town, the town of Hanau; of German schools there could be no question, as scarcely a single clerk could be found who was able to read. Sixteen years later a few schools had grown up which were managed by the pastors. By a stringent order of 1597 it was decreed that 'in all important villages schoolmasters were to be appointed'; nevertheless, an inspectoral report of 1600 stated that 'at Steinau nobody sends a single child to school'; 'in the villages the schools lie waste,' and 'there is such a barbarous state of things everywhere that it would be better to be dead than to go on living in this way.'[5]

In the Palatinate the condition of things was no better. After the inspectors, in 1556, had sent in full details concerning the decay of all discipline and instruc-

[1] Vormbaum, i. 225; Heppe, iii. 304.
[2] *Ibid.* iii. 319.
[3] Heppe, iii. 363–364.
[4] *Zeitschr. für die histor. Theologie*, xi. Heft 4, p. 105 note.
[5] Heppe, ii. 1–5.

tion to the Electoral court—they said 'the people are undisciplined and wild, they live from day to day like unreasoning cattle'[1]—the matter was taken up at a synod at Heidelberg in 1563, and measures for the reform of the school were passed. In future, it was resolved, only such clerks were to be appointed as were capable of 'teaching the children the Catechism'; in every town there was to be a school built for the little girls. It was full thirty years, however, at any rate at Heidelberg, before any serious steps were taken to erect German schools. The Elector Frederick IV, who had satisfied himself by an inspectoral visitation, which he instituted in all the towns and villages, of the ignorance prevailing among the whole population, issued orders in 1593 that 'in Heidelberg, henceforth, there was to be a boys' school and a girls' school in every quarter of the town.'[2] In the Upper Palatinate also the results of an inspectoral visitation in 1596 showed that among thirty persons 'scarcely one could read; very few people—in Hirschau only ten—knew the Lord's Prayer; the articles of the Creed were very imperfectly known; most of the people were quite ignorant about the doctrines of the Lord's Supper and Baptism; even to the question who Christ was they could give no answer, or at least only an absurd one.' In 1600 the Elector received from the town of Amberg, which had over 4000 inhabitants, the following inspectoral report: 'Only 158 people know the five principal dogmas of the Christian religion and can repeat the Ten Commandments correctly; these we could soon find out about because they could read and write, but we met with

[1] See our remarks, vol. vii. p. 63 ff. [2] Heppe, i. 27–28.

greater hindrances among the poorer class of citizens, because neither they nor their families could either read or write, and they had nobody who could teach them the chief elements of religion, or even the Ten Commandments, and their ignorance was so great that most of them could not even repeat the Lord's Prayer correctly.' [1]

If such was the state of things in the capital town of the Upper Palatinate, we need not wonder at the reports of the complete ignorance of the populations of the smaller towns and villages. From Pfalz-Zweibrücken there came a report in 1584 to the effect that 'at Barbelroth there are five boys and two girls in the school; at Frankweiler the schoolmaster is a drinker and a swearer; at Leinsweiler, and in other parishes, the parents, in spite of admonition, do not send their

[1] Wittmann, *Gesch. der Reformation in der Oberpfalz*, Augsburg 1847, pp. 101–102, 108–109. J. Lippert (*Die Reformation in Kirche, Sitte und Schule der Oberpfalz* [*Kurpfalz*] 1520–1620. *An Anti-Janssen aus den Königl. Archiven erholt*, by Pfarrer J. L. [Rothenburg 1897]) attacks Wittmann (pp. 137, 204) in the most violent manner as if the latter, at p. 101 of his work, gave an incorrect account of the results of the church visitations of 1596. This attack is quite as unfounded as are many others which Lippert makes against Wittmann and Janssen; for a comparison with the documents of the Circle-Archives at Amberg shows that Wittmann's statements are well grounded (see the *Regensburger* (Ratisbon) *Morgenblatt* 1897, No. 132). How little the 'anti-Janssen' Lippert has succeeded, in other points also, in refuting Janssen is seen by Hirschmann's article in the Augsburg *Postzeitung*, 1897, Beil. C, Nos. 47–49, and also by the severe but just criticism which Hüttner launches against Lippert in the *Histor. Jahrbuch*, xix. 169 f. Concerning the retrograde condition of schools in the Upper Palatinate under the influence of the religious disturbances of the sixteenth century, cf. also Hollweck, pp. 42 ff., 48 ff. It was only in that part of the present day Upper Palatinate which belonged to the duchy of Neuberg-Sulzbach that national education went on developing peacefully after the death of Otto Heinrich (p. 50 ff.), in contradistinction to the actual Upper Palatinate which remained attached to the Kurpfalz, and where the frequent compulsory changes of religion disturbed all conditions of progress.

children to school; in four places, the names of which are given, the pastors are willing to hold schools, but nobody sends them their children; in Roth the pastor does not hold any school; the parish has asked him to do so, but he refuses; it is too much trouble, he says.'[1]

In Württemberg, in 1546, Duke Ulrich had issued orders with regard to the people's schools founded in the past that: 'For the glory of God and also for the common good, the German schools in small towns must be done away with, because the Latin schools are spoilt by them.' On the other hand, in 1559, Duke Christopher gave permission to leave both schools standing side by side, and turned his attention to founding German schools in 'important towns and well-populated villages'; boys and girls were to be seated and taught separately; but for German schools 'no contributions were to be sought from Church sources.'[2] The school ordinance which he issued was a good one, but its results were very meagre.[3]

[1] [J. G. Faber] *Stoff für den künftigen Verfasser einer pfalz-zweibrückischen Kirchengesch. von der Reformation*, ii. 79, 82, 85, 89, 93–96.

[2] Reyscher, viii. 68; Schmidt and Pfister, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i. 68–69.

[3] Reyscher, xi[a]. p. xlvii; Heppe, ii. 134; Kayser (*Gesch. des Volksschulwesens in Württemberg*, Stuttgart 1895) comes to the following conclusions: (1) 'The religious disturbances and passionately conducted theological dissensions were by no means calculated to further education and instruction; on the contrary, they were a heavy drag on schools of all sorts, and they exercised a disturbing influence on the development of learning, and induced a strong distaste for study.' (2) 'The schools opposed by the religious innovators were in the first place the Latin schools, not the German ones.' The Latin schools served for the training of preachers and officials. In the country, says Schmidt (*Histor. Jahrbuch*, xvii. 75), they might be satisfied with Catechism schools, and respecting these the agitators made the smallest possible demands. See also the excellent article, '*Wie alt ist die Schule?*' in No. 48 ff. of the *Katholische Schulzeitung*, Donauwörth, 1895. Concerning the injurious influence of the Church schism on the people's schools see also Thalhofer in the *Mitteilungen des Histor. Vereins für Donauwörth*, i. (1902).

The number of detailed inspectoral reports that came from Catholic districts concerning the condition of national schools is comparatively small.[1] When in the years 1559–1560 a church visitation was instituted in the duchy of Jülich, the state of things with regard to schools was found not unfavourable as compared with that of Protestant lands; far above half of the towns and villages and hamlets had at least one school.[2] On the other hand, on the occasion of a visitation of the bishopric of Würzburg in 1612, in the chapter of Gerolzhofen, to which seventy-four localities belonged, there were not more than twenty-two schools, and even in these it was said that in the summer months tuition was almost at a standstill.[3]

In the duchy of Bavaria, where the clergy had sunk very low both as regards morals and culture, the church visitations in the years 1558–1560 gave on the whole very unsatisfactory information concerning the schools of the day. Even in the capital, Munich, where there were eighteen elementary schools, with a collective attendance of about 620 to 630 boys and girls, no one had, so far, been concerned to see that these schools were properly superintended.[4] In 1569 Duke Albert V issued a general injunction that 'Two intelligent inhabitants of the jurisdiction shall, twice a year, visit the respective school districts, set right all imperfec-

[1] Intelligence concerning the schools at Bingen, including the sixteenth century, is gathered together by Bruder, 'Das Schulwesen zu Bingen am Rhein während des Mittelalters,' in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, iv. (1894) 94 ff.

[2] Nettesheim, pp. 771–774.

[3] Archives for Lower Franconia, II., Heft i. 184–189.

[4] Knöpfler, pp. 180–183; in the case of two schools the number of pupils attending is not given.

tions, and report concerning the management.'[1] 'All unlicensed schools and all secret gatherings, at which sectarian postilles and other misleading books are read, must be entirely abolished.' An enactment of 1578 decreed that 'for many important reasons' both the German and the Latin schools in the country were to be altogether abolished.

A school ordinance of 1582 also enjoined that 'the number of schoolmasters was, as far as possible, to be reduced.'[2] So little, however, were these orders carried into effect that, in 1614, the ducal councillors renewed the command to the deputies of the provincial Estates that 'for many important reasons the German schools in the country must be completely abolished'; for 'there were plenty of German schools in the convents, towns and boroughs of Bavaria for as many children as were qualified to receive tuition. What a great scarcity of upright, worthy domestic servants and labourers there was in the land was well known to those who wanted any, and who daily experienced the difficulty of supplying their needs in this respect.' It was entirely owing to these said useless, or unlicensed, schools that parents would no longer send their children to work, but brought them up to idleness. The deputies, however, replied that 'not all the peasant children wanted to remain peasants; some of them looked forward to becoming tradesmen or handicraftsmen, or to service under the knighthood'; for this purpose it was necessary that they should learn to read their own mother tongue and should be able to write: anyone who could not read or write 'was no better than a dead man.' But

[1] Von Freyberg, iii. 277. [2] Kluckhohn, *Beiträge*, p. 192.

the deputies only yielded so far as to say that without permission from the authorities no new village schools were to be erected.[1] After lengthy deliberations it was decreed in the *Landesordnung* of 1616 that 'Towns and boroughs must by no means desist from keeping up German schools; in the large villages in which heretofore such schools have existed they shall remain standing, and efficient teachers shall be appointed; nevertheless no peasant child over the age of twelve shall be allowed to go to school, but after such an age shall be put to some work or service, or apprenticeship.'[2] In Landshut, in 1600, the nine German schoolmasters of the place sent a petition to the ducal government complaining of the well-to-do peasants all round about in the country; these, they said, 'make a large practice of themselves engaging foreign vagrants as schoolmasters, and thus rob us of our daily bread.'[3]

In Styria, in 1564, on the accession of Archduke Charles, the instruction of the young was so terribly neglected that there were only a few places in which a single school could be found where the simplest rudimentary elements were taught.[4] In order to keep out heretical teachers from the instruction of the young, Church synods repeatedly demanded the abolition of all private, or so-called unlicensed, schools which could not be supervised, and they laid down conditions respecting the appointment of teachers which were so exacting as sometimes to bring them into conflict with the government of the county. Thus, for instance, King Ferdinand I made the following protest against exactions of this sort from the Salzburg Provincial Council

[1] Von Freyberg, iii. 294–297.
[2] Von Freyberg, pp. 299–302.
[3] Kluckhohn, *Beiträge*, p. 199.
[4] Hurter, *Ferdinand II*, ii. 311.

in 1549: 'We hold it as grievous that the towns and boroughs should be bound to present their schoolmasters to the bishops, and also that the private schools are to be abolished, which would be a twofold pernicious innovation. The character and mode of teaching of the schoolmasters may be inquired into yearly by a regular method of annual inspection, and if so be that in respect of their religious opinions, manner of teaching, or other matters, they are found wanting, they can either be discharged, compelled to alter their ways, or punished, in a legitimate way.' [1] Bishop Urban of Passau complained in 1580 to the government that 'The schoolmasters were almost everywhere chosen by the parish or the bailiffs, notwithstanding that the candidates were often wholly unfit for the posts, often indeed not loyal to the Catholic religion, and consequently unwilling to make any confession of faith.' [2]

Concerning village schools in Austria we have only isolated reports.[3] At Taufers in Tyrol the peasants, in 1582, sent in a petition to the government against the village magistrate: 'the warden of the castle,' they said, 'had duly provided them with a teacher; in order, however, that some of the children should not have such

[1] Wiedemann, i. 112. ** A school ordinance of the Emperor Rudolf II for the German schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in Vienna in 1579 is worthy of notice, for it belongs to the measures passed after the accession of Rudolf II for the protection of the Catholic religion against the encroachments of Protestantism; see K. Schrauf in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, i. (1891) 215–221.

[2] Wiedemann, ii. 398, No. 40.

[3] In the village of Arnsdorf the pastor was obliged to provide the schoolmaster with food and drink; in the village of St. Margaretha-on-the-Sierning an inspector, in 1595, found the pastor and the schoolmaster on a church day considerably the worse for drink; in the village of Haunoldstein the pastor conducted a school attended by only a few boys. Wiedemann, iv. 143, 184, 231.

a long way to go they had started another teacher, whom the magistrate had discharged, saying that 'the peasants did not need a schoolmaster in every corner.' The government decided in favour of the peasants.[1] On the intercession of the Jesuits the schoolmasters in Tyrol, in 1586, were granted a rise in their salaries together with an allowance for firewood, while at the same time Archduke Ferdinand II issued an admirable edict as to the manner in which henceforth 'both the German and Latin schoolmasters who taught the children German reading and writing were to act and behave.'[2] The people's schools in the archbishopric of Salzburg had suffered heavily from the general religious disturbances till towards the end of the sixteenth century, when, chiefly through the zeal of the Archbishops Wolf Diettrich von Raittenau (1587–1612) and Marks Sittich von Hohenembs (1612–1619), an orderly state of things was restored in this district.[3]

The outward position and the remuneration of the national schoolmasters, as well in the Protestant as in the Catholic districts, was, on the whole, anything but enviable; by far the most of them, especially in the plain lands and in the smaller towns and villages, had to eke out a living in toil and penury. They could say with one of their comrades, the author of the pamphlet 'Der arme Teufel' ('The Poor Devil'): 'They never build us proper dwelling-places, but let us live on in the old musty, tumble-down cells, never thinking of repairs till the rain pours in on the children's heads,

[1] Hirn, i. 324. [2] Hirn, i. 329–333.

[3] Cf. H. F. Wagner in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, iii. (1893) 65 ff.

or the wind blows everything topsy-turvy and kills both cow and calf. The peasants all tell us what and how we ought to teach ; but whenever there is a question of giving a wretched schoolmaster an increase of pay, because in many places the pay is so beggarly that even a goose-herd could not live on it, they all cry out: " We'll leave things as they are." And there's a pretty to-do if the parish should give a poor schoolmaster an acre or a bit of a garden or a morsel of meadow-land from the common lands, or should allow him to let a cow feed there, for they are afraid if they parted with a speck of ground that their geese would not have enough to eat. And it is the same with bread and sausages, for they bake a special kind of bread for the schoolmaster, just as a special kind is baked for a dog ; yet we know well that they feed on better and bigger loaves in their houses.' ' With the school fees they behave just as cunningly ; when they are aware that the quarter is nearly at an end they keep the children away from school, and afterwards refuse to pay more than a half-quarter fee, and the schoolmaster is obliged to reckon, dun, dispute and wrangle with them.' [1] ' Poor devils ' of this sort formed the majority of village schoolmasters, especially in Saxony.[2]

The schoolmaster of Pettenreith in Lower Bavaria applied, in May 1616, for a larger allowance of corn, because ' during the last winter he and his wife and children had suffered great poverty and hunger, and with his pittance of four florins and a measure of corn he could scarcely pay for dry bread ; if he did not obtain

[1] Strack, pp. 55–56.

[2] Cf. on this point the statements in Müller, *Kursächsisches Schulwesen*, pp. ix–xii.

an increase he should be reduced to begging his bread.' [1]

From the Lower Rhine district alone did there come any reports of village schoolmasters in favourable conditions, who were also clerks. In the village of Weeze belonging to the district of Goch the schoolmaster, even at the beginning of the sixteenth century, received from the parish four florins, three *Malter* of rye, two malter of wheat, two malter of oats, and sixty bundles of straw; besides which he had free residence with a garden, and kitchen-garden of a third of one-eighth of an acre and five-eighths of an acre for usufruct; every pupil had to pay a monthly fee of five stivers in the winter and four stivers in the summer; for services in the church the teacher got from two to three florins yearly. At Veen in the district of Xanten the profits of one *Vicarie* (curacy), with house, garden, and meadow-land, and half the profits of another, were allotted to the schoolmaster. In the village of Süchteln the schoolmaster, in 1588, received yearly from the parish nineteen florins, twenty-two albus, and several carts of coal; from the charitable foundations two gold florins and two malters of rye; for singing in the church six thalers.[2] The annual income of the village schoolmaster of Niederelten amounted in 1538 to thirty-eight florins and eight stivers, in 1566 only to twenty-four florins; in the fifteenth century it had sometimes amounted to thirty gold florins, which the Abbess of Elten paid up.[3]

[1] Transactions of the *Histor. Verein für den Regenkreis*, iii. 253, 254.

[2] Nettesheim, pp. 422, 428, 431. In the village of Nieukerk near Guelders 'the schoolmaster, in 1595, received not only the revenues of the St. George's Brotherhood, but also those of the *Vicarie* of St. Anna, and had also the house and garden of the latter for his use' (p. 657).

[3] Nettesheim, p. 430.

As a rule the national schoolmasters, even in the towns, had no fixed salary, and depended solely on the school fees, which often did not come in at all, or only partially and very slowly. In Augsburg every pupil had to hand in to his teacher a quarterly fee of three batzes, and once a year two kreuzers, towards the heating of the room; in 1603 the quarterly fees were raised to fifteen batzes, and the fire money to four kreuzers.[1] Better provisions were made for schoolmasters in Munich. In an edict of the town council, in 1564, it was enacted that 'Each pupil shall pay fifteen kreuzers quarterly for instruction in reading and writing; if he wants to learn arithmetic also he must pay thirty kreuzers; if he learns also the "*welsch Praktika*," the chief element of which is the rule of three, he must pay one florin.'[2] The ordinance for German school managers in Landshut at the beginning of the sixteenth century was to the same effect.[3] In the Catholic town of Jülich the German schoolmaster, in 1559, received, according to his own statement, besides the school fees, nineteen malter of rye and eighteen florins in money.[4]

How piteous the condition of the town schoolmasters was in many places is seen, for instance, from the request of two schoolmasters at Wernigerode, in 1555, who had received permission to start 'a free German school,' that the council might 'be pleased to advance them *one* florin only' until they could get a little

[1] Hans, p. 53.

[2] Prantl, *Zur Geschichte der Volksbildung*, p. 536. Cf. the statistics of 1595 in the *Upper Bavarian Archives*, xiii. 44–46. In 1613, 'in view of these hard times,' the quarterly fees were raised to twenty kreuzers (p. 47).

[3] Kluckhohn, *Beiträge*, p. 190.

[4] Kuhl, p. 55.

straight.[1] A schoolmaster at Labes, in Pomerania, in 1598, applied to the town magistrates for information as to how he was to manage with his scanty pittance of ten florins and seven and a half bushels of oats: 'formerly,' he said, 'the schoolmaster had been supplied by the burghers with a free table, but this had, alas! been stopped'; he sent the boys round with a basket, but from most of the people they got nothing, and were only dismissed with rough words.[2]

The miserable payment of the schoolmasters, as also the general want of institutions for training efficient schoolmasters, accounts for the fact that even the large towns had not seldom to content themselves with teachers 'who were nothing more than blockheads and ignorant logs.' Thus, for instance, at Augsburg, in 1568, the school managers were obliged to petition the council that nobody should be appointed to the office of schoolmaster who had not learnt to write and reckon from his youth up. Numbers of men fell back on the calling of schoolmaster because they knew of no better way of earning a living, or because they wanted to add to their incomes. An Augsburg bookbinder asked leave of the council in 1551 to keep a school as he could not make enough by his trade; another burgher, in 1555, made the same request 'because he had a bodily injury, and was unfit for service with any gentleman'; a third, in order that he might no longer have to make claims on the holy alms-

[1] *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins*, xvii. 27.

[2] Von Bülow, *Beiträge*, pp. 64–65. The Pomeranian Church Ordinance of 1563 referred the German schoolmasters for their pay to the school fees only, but gave leave that 'if they were pious men and not disagreeable to the pastor, a present might be given to them out of the church funds.' Vormbaum, i. 177.

box, and might be able to feed his wife. Affixed to the name of an Augsburg schoolmaster, in 1568, there is the following remark from a school manager: 'This man is a cloth-shearer and dealer in odd pieces of cloth; he keeps school also.' In 1587, for the first time, an order was issued that in future 'handworkers must no longer be allowed to be schoolmasters of German schools.' [1] In Frankfort-on-the-Main, a shoemaker sent a petition to the council on June 22, 1531, to the effect that 'for necessary reasons in these unfortunate times he had given up his business of shoemaker, and wished now to set up a German school, and to instruct the children properly in the arts of reading and writing, and also to expound the evangelical Scriptures.' On the very same day his petition was granted.[2]

As regards 'life in the boys' schools,' in almost all places there was one and the same complaint that 'both for teachers and pupils the state of things was lamentable, for on the one side the children were so undisciplined and wild that they could scarcely be tamed, while on the other the schoolmasters were so cruel and tyrannical that they often punished children of quite tender years like hangmen, and 'flogged them half into cripples.' [3]

As a principal cause of the melancholy condition of things the Mansfeld chancellor, George Lauterbeck, in full agreement with many other of his contemporaries,

[1] Hans, pp. 49, 55.

[2] Kriegk, ii. 121. At Weende in the Brunswick district, in 1594, a schoolmaster was appointed after no further test than that he could write a couple of words and decline his own name Christophorus. Schlegel, ii. 341.

[3] Whitsuntide sermon of M. Heinrich Doltz (Jena 1577), p. 4. Concerning dramatic pieces which depicted school life cf. our remarks, vol. xii. pp. 146–150.

points to the decay of home discipline. 'The young,' he wrote in 1564, 'are now brought up in such a way that there are no traces left of temperance, honour and discipline. We see parents everywhere give way to their children in everything, and the result is that among us Germans, who nevertheless call ourselves Christians, a wild, unruly people is growing up such as is found nowhere else in the world.'[1] 'With regard to children from seven to fourteen years old,' said Andrew Pancratius, superintendent at Hof in the Voigtland, in 1572, 'it is the complaint of all the world, especially of people who are obliged to be in the schools, that they were never so insubordinate and unruly as they are now; they are indeed so godless that in church they make fun of the Word of God.' 'If there is any attempt to punish them they behave as if they were not human beings but wild animals.' 'One bites furiously as a mad dog bites at the stone which is thrown at it; another makes a face as if he were a devil; a third acts as if he would like to strike his chastiser a blow in the face; and it would be well if, when a naughty boy is going to be flogged, one had always the sheriff at hand to stand before the door and prevent his escaping.'[2]

Speaking from long personal experience, John Bussleb, teacher at the school at Eglen in the Magdeburg district, said in 1568: 'In these corrupt and pestilential days everybody complains of the rough, depraved, godless, shameless and "old Adamish"

[1] Lauterbeck, pp. 21, 76; cf. p. 152.

[2] Pancratius, pp. 61–62, 85. Among hundreds of children there are not found two who are attentive to the sermon: 'They either scamper about the galleries or run out at the church door, or chatter and play tricks with one another' (p. 140).

nature of the dear young children, and these complaints are confirmed by those who come into daily contact with them.' [1]

Very frequently, however, the 'daily contact' with the dear children was of a very strange nature. The well-grounded complaints, which had been heard already at the close of the Middle Ages concerning the harsh and cruel punishments used in schools [2] deepened and intensified almost from one decade to the other in the course of the sixteenth century. 'It is certain,' we read in a pamphlet of the year 1540, 'that the schoolmasters, as far as punishment goes, behave, very many of them, like hangmen.' 'A schoolmaster seizes his executioner's rod from a bucket full of water, hacks, whacks and belabours the poor young wretch on his hind-quarters, till he roars out so that he can be heard three houses off; but the chastiser does not stop till huge swellings appear and the blood runs down the victim's legs. Some schoolmasters are such cruel devils that they twist wire round the rod, or turn it upside down and use the thick end.' 'They also make a practice of twisting the children's hair round sticks in order that they may tug and pull it, till the very stones of the earth might cry out with pity, and they seem as if they did not know how to devise enough torture and disgrace for the children. Item, they often shut the infants up in the cellar in the winter, so that they almost die of fright, and often become epileptic in consequence.' [3] George Lauterbeck complained in like manner in 1564 of those schoolmasters who

[1] *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins*, i. 352.

[2] See F. Kösterus, *Das Züchtigungsrecht des Lehrers während des Mittelalters*, Frankfort-on-the-Main and Lucerne, 1890, pp. 12–22.

[3] Cf. Strack, pp. 57–58.

'undressed the boys, or knocked them on their heads so that they became giddy, or got boils, or turned black, or went away streaming with blood.' 'Many a time,' he said, 'I have seen children flogged and beaten into being cripples, or else into some serious illness from which they had hard work to recover.' [1]

How frequently punishments of this kind were inflicted is shown by the very numerous ordinances issued against them by the authorities. Thus, for instance, the Esslinger school ordinance of 1548 enjoined that 'the schoolmaster shall not beat his pupils on the head, he shall not punish them with foot or fist, slapping, boxing their ears, and pulling their hair, nor with twisting their ears round, or flicking their noses and foreheads; he shall not use any sticks or clubs for punishment, but only whip them behind with a rod.' To the schoolmasters at Basel it was represented that 'Whereas it was known that they ill-used and plagued the children with beating, skinning, thumping, pulling and tugging, they were enjoined henceforth no longer to treat their pupils in this barbarous and inhuman manner, never again to knock holes in their heads or trample them under foot, as had heretofore sometimes been done.' [2] From Bavaria the court secretary, Aegidius Albertinus, reported in 1616: 'There are some pedantic bloodhounds, so ill-tempered, violent and inhuman that they lash and cut the poor little boys in such a merciless, hangmanlike manner, that after a few days they can no longer walk, nor lie down, nor sit. Poor little orphans especially, who had no one to pity or comfort them, were often treated most scandalously!' [3]

[1] Lauterbeck, pp. 72, 77[b]. [2] Heppe, i. 37.
[3] *Luzifers Königreich und Seelengejaidt*, pp. 370–371.

The Tyrolese physician, Hippolytus Guarinoni, often recalled with shuddering in his old age the gruesome treatment which he had experienced as a child at school. 'At the age of seven or eight,' he writes in 1610, 'it often happened to me, if I got up too late and went unwillingly to school, to be thrashed with a whip that had three leathern lashes, and this not once, twice, ten or twenty times, but upwards of fifty and even seventy times, and in such a manner that deep gashes were cut in my flesh; and what with lumps of flesh and streaming blood my shirt had become clogged and stiffened like a tent, so that I could no longer walk or sit. I bear the marks of this treatment still in my body. Numbers of boys,' he went on to say, 'are checked in their growth, and remain dwarfed, even under good care, because they carry with them from school the evil results of heavy blows, which they never quite get over, and are always frightened and anxious for the future, so that they can never be joyous at heart.' [1]

[1] Guarinoni, p. 246. Cf. A. Pichler in the Feuilleton of the *Wiener Presse* of March 11, 1884.

CHAPTER III

NEWLY FOUNDED PROTESTANT LATIN SCHOOLS AND GYMNASIA—PAYMENT OF TEACHERS—SUBJECTS OF INSTRUCTION AND METHODS OF TUITION

WHILE, in consequence of the religious revolution, the old Catholic higher educational institutions had fallen into decay or gone completely to ruin, the Protestant party had been for a long time zealous in the erection of new schools, and it seemed indeed as if education was about to enter on a new stage of prosperity. George Wizel complained in 1538, in a letter to Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz, of the little that was done for schools among the Catholics as compared with the Protestants, and said that already in Germany the want of men of learning was being felt.[1] Archbishop Albert of Mayence, in 1541, expressed himself as follows against Cardinal Contarini: 'The Protestants, in the matter of education, are far in advance of the Catholics; they are drawing all the youth of Germany into their schools.'[2] Again, in the year 1550, Julius Pflug wrote to Pope Julius III: 'The Protestant schools, public as well as private, are in a flourishing condition; ours are crumbling into ruin. The Protestants attract the people to them by offering great rewards; we do not do this.'[3]

[1] Schreiber, *Universität Freiburg*, ii. 31.

[2] Dittrich, *Regesten und Briefe des Kardinals Gasparo Contarini*, p. 336.

[3] A. Jansen, 'Julius Pflug,' in the *Neue Mitteil.* x. Heft 2, p. 204 ff.

The most comprehensive work for higher school education and for instruction, especially in classical languages, was done by Melanchthon. At his instigation and under his direction many new schools were organised, the first of these being the town school at Magdeburg, in 1524, and the Latin school at Eisleben in 1525, with John Agricola for its first master.[1] Melanchthon's numerous text-books of Latin and Greek grammar, of dialectics, rhetoric and so forth, were used in a large number of Protestant institutes as the basis of instruction, and his educational views became the standard for these schools. He also carried on extensive work, and made for himself a wide, varied sphere of influence, by his expositions of Latin and Greek authors and his Latin translations of Greek books, by the lectures and academic discourses which he held as teacher of Greek at Wittenberg, by the innumerable letters in which he gave invaluable advice on instructional matters, and by his own personal training which produced such distinguished pedagogues as Joachim Camerarius, Valentine Trotzendorf and Michael Neander. His fellow-believers bestowed on him the honourable title of 'the preceptor of Germany.'[2]

[1] *Zeitschr. des Harzvereins*, xii. 215 f.

[2] K. Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae*, vol. vii. of K. Kehrbach's *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*; cf. v. Raumer, I², p. 190 ff., Bursian, pp. 173–178. ** K. Hartfelder, *Melanchthoniana Paedagogica. Eine Ergänzung zu den Werken Melanchthons im Corpus Reformatorum*, Leipzig, 1892. Bender, *Gesch. des Gelehrtenschulwesens*, p. 1 f. 'The plan of instruction for the Latin schools of these classes, worked out by Melanchthon and approved by Luther, which is appended to the "Instructions for Inspectors" issued in 1528, is called the foundation charter of German gymnasia and Latin schools (see *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii. 2, 216). This designation is, indeed, justifiable in so far as a school ordinance, which was confirmed by the joint names of the two reformers with the sanction of the territorial lord of the cradle of the

The material elements for starting new Protestant schools lay to hand in the wealthy school foundations, and the Church and convent goods which had come down from the Catholic ancestors of the Protestant princes and municipal authorities into whose hands they had now fallen, and many of whom used them for educational purposes. In this respect also Luther's saying was verified, 'We are fed from the spoils of Egypt which were accumulated under the papacy.' Nearly all the educational settlements in Germany rest on these spoils—*i.e.* on the foundations built up under the rule of the old Church, in faithful obedience to the doctrine that good works are necessary to salvation. What the new religionist princes and municipal authorities obtained from other sources for the support of schools is scarcely taken into account. By far the greater number of schools were the outcome of old Catholic schools, and had their quarters in former convents.[1]

Reformation, viz. the Saxon Electorate, was bound to be of the highest importance for the evangelical schools hereafter to be built; it would, however, be unjust to conclude that by this document entirely new principles and regulations were brought into effect. The views which Melanchthon held concerning the scope of the Latin schools were in the main the same as those of the general run of humanists of his day (Hartfelder, *Melanchthon: Mon. Germ. Paed.* vii. 327 ff.) as represented by Rud. Agricola, Erasmus and others.' Bender, in especial, recognises in this respect the ordinance drawn up, about 1505, for the four Latin schools of Nuremberg under the influence of Pirkheimer. 'We recognise clearly here the principles of Melanchthon's schools. . . .' The Reformation, with its religious and ecclesiastical pathos, adopted the principles of instruction emanating from the ecclesiastical Middle Ages, combined them with humanist elements, and so in one sense created a new organisation: the spirit was a new one, but the form was the old one.' Concerning Melanchthon's school plan of 1528 see also Roth, p. 61 ff.

[1] Thus, for instance, in 1524, the Latin town school at Magdeburg, one of the first of these new foundations, originated from the amalgamation of the older parish schools, first of all in St. Stephen's chapel, then in the Augustinian convent, and later on in the Franciscan convent. At

Of the schools organised under the principles of the new teaching which were to serve directly towards getting rid of the papacy, the keenest expectations were formed both as regards the subjects and the methods of instruction. In his manifesto to the burgomasters and councillors of towns in 1524,[1] Luther, while urging the erection of new schools, had spoken with the greatest contempt of the old schools in which he himself and his co-workers had been educated. He called them 'donkey-stalls and devils' schools,' 'in which not only the Gospel was mistaught, but also the Latin and German languages were corrupted,' 'and the miserable people had been turned into so many beasts who could neither speak or write German or Latin, and who had well nigh lost their natural reason.' 'Yes,' he said, 'what has been learnt in high schools up till now except to become donkeys, blockheads and dullards? Now, on the contrary,' he said, 'a boy could be got on so well in three years that at the age of fifteen or eighteen he knew

Lübeck, instead of the two old Latin schools in the cathedral and at St. Jacobi, one new school was formed in St. Katherine's convent; in Hamburg, instead of the old school, a new one in the Johannes Kloster (Paulsen, p. 204 ff.); at Rostock the four former parochial schools were amalgamated into one town school (Grasse, pp. 218–220). At Berlin, at the time of the introduction of the new doctrines, in 1540, it was decided, when the removal of old parish schools and convent schools began, that 'henceforth there should be only one school in the town, viz. at St. Nicholas, and that this school should be provided with four teachers' (Fidicin, *Histor.-diplomat. Beiträge zur Gesch. der Stadt Berlin*, ii. 345: cf. iii. 102–103). Similar transformations of schools took place in Stralsund, Nordhausen, Stargard (Zober, *Gesch. des Stralsunder Gymnasiums*, p. 2. Förstemann, *Mitteil. zu einer Geschichte der Schulen in Nordhausen*, pp. 18, 21 *Baltische Studien*, xix. Heft i. p. 18). ** Bender (pp. 50–59) gives 'an attempt at a statistical survey of the condition of the schools in 1600,' in which, however, the Catholic higher schools of South Germany are only dealt with summarily and imperfectly.

[1] See above, p. 13.

more than all the schools and convents together had known hitherto.' Why should not such schools and such instruction be provided for the young folk, since, by God's grace, all was now so well disposed that children could learn with zest and pleasure, whether it were languages or other arts and history? And our schools are no longer the hells and purgatories in which we were martyred over the *Casualibus* and the *Temporalibus*, while even then we learnt nothing at all with all the endless scourging, trembling, agony and lamentation.

To the question, which never arose under the rule of the Catholic Church, but was first asked after 'the spread of the new evangel,' 'Of what use is it to learn Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and other liberal arts? Can we not read the Bible and God's Word in German, and what more do we want for salvation?' Luther answered: 'Yes, I know, well, alas! that we Germans will always remain ignorant brutes. . . . The arts and languages, which without doing us any harm are aids to beauty, honour and piety, and also help us to understand the Bible, and to carry on secular government, we set ourselves up to despise; for outlandish goods, which are neither needed nor useful to us, we toil and labour without taking advice: thus, indeed, we behave like German fools and sots.' The 'Evangel' had come by the instrumentality of these languages, and had grown in this way, and it must be preserved in this way. 'Without these languages it would not be possible to preserve it.' Nevertheless not languages only were to be taught in the schools, but also history and 'music, and mathematics in all its branches.' In connexion with the schools, good libraries and book-

shops should be started, especially in the large towns. But these requirements were soon minimised as far as ordinary town schools were concerned.

In the school ordinance of Eisleben (1525), drawn up, or at any rate approved, by Melanchthon, according to the custom of the old schools, elementary instruction in Greek and the reading of Homer and Hesiod were prescribed in addition to Latin; some of the pupils might also make a beginning with Hebrew.[1] On the other hand, in the school ordinance of the Saxon Electorate which Luther prepared in conjunction with Melanchthon, and which served as model for numbers of later school ordinances the schoolmasters were enjoined to teach Latin only, 'not German, Greek or Hebrew as well,' in order 'not to burden the pupils with such a variety of subjects, which was not only unprofitable, but also injurious.' Instruction in history and in mathematics was passed over with silence.[2]

John Bugenhagen in his school ordinance for the town of Brunswick (1528) followed, in the main, the lines of the plan of instruction of the Saxon Electorate, but was nevertheless willing that those pupils who were

[1] Paulsen, p. 182. ** Concerning the *Ordnung des neuer Studii* (programme of the new studies) drawn up by the rector Leonard Natter of Lauingen for Zwickau in 1523, 'probably the earliest printed evangelical school ordinance,' see Bender, p. 3 f.

[2] Vormbaum, i. 5. ** Roth, p. 62, and Bender, p. 28 f. The earliest Weimar school ordinance after the introduction of Protestantism appears also to have Melanchthon's school plan for its basis. The later one of 1562 is published by L. Weniger in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, vii. (1897) 172 ff.; the one of 1610, *l.c.* viii. (1898) 1 ff. Concerning the school curriculum of the school, cf. Planen of 1529 drawn up by Joh. Toltz; cf. F. Cohrs, *Johannes Toltz, ein Schullehrer und Prediger der Reformationszeit*, *l.c.* vii. (1897) 360 ff.; also viii. 96. For the detailed school ordinance of Breslau prepared by Peter Vincentius in 1570, which remained in use there till 1617, see Bender, p. 10.

grounded in Latin should also learn the first elements of Greek and mathematics and the Hebrew alphabet. This ordinance formed the basis of the school ordinances —also drawn up by Bugenhagen—for Hamburg, Lübeck and other towns, and was adopted as the standard at Minden, Göttingen, Soest, Bremen, and Osnabrück.[1]

In the larger, newly organised institutions, gymnasia and pedagogia, great things were expected from the study of Latin and Greek, which formed almost the exclusive subjects of instruction, but the results were for the most part far from satisfying.[2]

If Luther had complained bitterly of the system of teaching in vogue in the old schools, the Tübingen professor, Michael Toxites, on the other hand, who in 1556 had been appointed by Duke Christopher of Württemberg 'arch-pedagogue' of the whole country, complained in a memorandum to the Duke that 'One of the principal evils of schools is the lack of a right method of teaching: each teacher thinks only of what best suits himself to teach, they none of them think of the pupils; all sorts of authors are lectured about without discrimination; here and there the schoolmaster begins with dialectics and rhetoric before the pupils are grounded in grammar, and grammar also is

[1] Koldewey, p. 34. ** Bender, p. 25: 'Throughout the whole century, indeed, there was no lack of men who gave preference to the teaching of Greek, and who also understood it as far as it was possible at that time. But the school ordinances only give a very modest place to Greek. . . . In proportion as the value set on the subject-matter of lectures diminished, so much the more was Greek, the great importance of which lay in the ideal regions of thought and knowledge it opened up, pushed into the background. Thus the school ordinances of the sixteenth century are unanimous in their resolute repudiation of Greek.' Concerning Bugenhagen's labours for education see also Roth, p. 48 ff., Bender, p. 8 f.

[2] We shall bring forward full proofs of this later on in the section 'Humanistic Studies and their Decline.' ** Cf. also Bender, p. 4.

taught without understanding.' [1] More bitter still were the complaints of one of the most distinguished Protestant schoolmen of the sixteenth century, Michael Neander, in the year 1582: 'The children are indeed made to waste their years in school for no profit at all, robbed of their youth, and plagued and tormented with all sorts of unnecessary instruction and precepts. First of all the young boys are obliged to learn the Praeccpts of grammar almost everywhere, four different times and in four different forms, and then drop the first three. Thereby time is wasted and the boys are kept from other studies, and without any reason plagued and made miserable; with so much repulsive and fourfold study of grammar they become spiritless and discontented.'

Thus, after the boys have first of all 'well hammered away at all that is in Donatus,' they are taken on to the Compendium, hitherto the text-book used in the schools, and then they must forget the precepts of Donatus and let them all drop out, and learn fresh Praecepta out of the Compendium; later on they must also forget these and begin to learn the small grammar of Melanchthon. When they have scarcely got through this gruesome work they must forget the small grammar and go on to Melanchthon's large grammar, where there is not only a quantity of precepts and examples, but also quite a new method and order not at all in agreement with the Compendium and the small grammar. And now they not only have to grind and sweat and learn all the endless precepts, but must also write and learn a great deal besides, just as a schoolmaster or young baccalaureate, who wants to show off,

[1] Schmidt, *Michael Schütz*, pp. 70–71.

a commentary may be larger than the whole large grammar of Philip Melanchthon himself.[1]

In like manner spoke, later on, John Amos Comenius and Sigmund Evenius. 'Hitherto,' said the former, 'ten and more years have been spent in schools on languages without any special result; the pupils have been kept for years grinding at intricate confused grammatical rules.'[2] 'With the young,' wrote Evenius, 'the usual torture-school is carried on, in which when they have barely mastered reading and writing they are harassed and plagued with the unutterable, useless and senseless Donatus' grammar, which is a greater torture than even the whipping-post could be. For the sake of this everything which might be useful, both for godliness and for ordinary life, is neglected and thrust aside. For we have been so indoctrinated with these trashy glosses that we have come to look upon them as the highest desideratum in schools, on and concerning which, if not the whole, at any rate the largest part of, work, time, and attention must be spent, and whoever

[1] Vormbaum, i. 746 ff. Neander by no means wishes to depreciate Melanchthon's services; he declared on the contrary that his grammars were 'fine, admirable books,' but he wished a simpler method to be built up on their basis. ** Bender (p. 20) criticises Melanchthon's Grammars in agreement with Hartfelder: 'As regards Melanchthon's Grammars, the secret of the success of his *Greek Grammar* lay in its skilful and methodical form: the book gave no new theories about the language, but it summed up the rules so briefly and practically that it was the most convenient text-book for Greek'; in like manner, 'his *Latin Grammar, Etymology and Syntax*, is no great achievement in learning, but a clever school-book, combining brevity and comprehensiveness in such harmonious fashion that its triumph over other similar works was soon assured.' The same applies to Melanchthon's text-books of Dialectics and Rhetoric: 'Precision, clearness, and method, not the presentment of new theories, constitute their merits' (Hartfelder, *Melanchthon*, pp. 211, 250 ff.).

[2] Von Raumer, ii. 59.

comes out of school equipped with these is reckoned a saved man.' [1]

The injunction in the school ordinance of the Saxon Electorate, drawn up by Luther and Melanchthon, that in the Latin schools no instruction in German was to be given, was followed in almost all the higher Protestant educational institutes.[2] Even the use of the mother-tongue was strictly forbidden in this plan, and the speaking of Latin only enjoined under pain of corporal punishment. 'The preceptors,' it says for instance, in the Pomeranian Church Ordinance of 1535, 'shall always talk Latin with the pupils, as speaking German is in itself frivolous, and for the boys objectionable and harmful.' Secret spies were appointed

[1] Evenius, pp. 68–69. ** Bender (p. 38) sums up as follows his opinions respecting the value of the instruction given in Protestant schools in the second half of the sixteenth century: 'What was taught was little in compass, and yet it was also much. Little, in so far as variety of subjects was either wholly wanting or at any rate poorly represented; much, in so far as instruction was mainly confined to one subject only, and that subject Latin.'

[2] ** Bender, pp. 29 f. Wherever the highest value was placed on the speaking of Latin, and Latin was regarded as the flower and crown of teaching, instruction in the German language could not have a place; indeed, no school ordinance made even the slightest attempt to introduce the subject. It was considered that enough German would be learnt through the translation of Latin. The schools, especially in the towns, were to be Latin schools; as was enjoined in the Württemberg school ordinance of 1559: 'In all and sundry towns, whether great or small, also in all the chief villages or hamlets of the principality, Latin schools shall be maintained with efficient preceptors'; only in the second place is there any mention of 'German schools,' which in places where hitherto the clerk has kept a school 'shall be organised together with these clerk schools.' For the Saxon school plan of 1528, of which 'it appears as if it were meant to dig the sepulchre of German instruction in the schools, see Joh. Müller, *Quellenschriften*, p. 378 f. Müller seeks to explain and justify this regulation of the school plan, which, like much else which the latter contains, is certainly one-sided, on the 'historical ground' that the reformers were first and foremost concerned to train up a fresh growth of preachers.

to watch even over the games of the boys, to take note of every German word spoken, and to inflict the merited punishment.[1] The school ordinances of Brieg in Silesia, in 1581, fixed as punishment for speaking German either bodily chastisement or learning by heart dogmatic definitions.[2] The Nordhäusen school ordinance of 1583 established a regular seminary for spies. 'A well-appointed school,' said this document, 'must have five kinds of watchers,' among others 'Corycaei,' called also 'Lupi.' These were to be appointed in each of the three higher classes every week, 'secretly and without a fixed order,' and they were to be such as the master considered 'cunning and brave enough.' 'They must be among the first of the school, they must keep close watch to catch anyone speaking German, they must note the words and put down secretly what was said, when it was said, and by whom. They must give these notes to the master secretly on the day when they are to be read out, and they must not let out afterwards that they were Corycaei.'[3] In the regulations of the Pedagogium at Gandesheim of the year 1571, the offence of speaking German a third time was considered equal to uttering a curse, or blaspheming. The Strassburg school laws of John Sturm 'threatened all who spoke anything besides Latin, or anything unsuitable, improper or scandalous, with the same kind of punishment.'[4]

[1] Cf. Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 173.

[2] Vormbaum, i. 339; cf. Löschke, p. 149.

[3] Vormbaum, i. 364, 379, 392. ** K. Meyer, 'Die Schulordnung des Gymnasiums der freien Reichstadt Nordhausen am Harz' (1583) in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, ii. (1892) 113.

[4] See Löschke, p. 149. Otto Brunfels had already decreed at Strassburg in 1529: 'Vernacula lingua loqui in ludo nostro piaculum est atque

Many of the school-men, not content with keeping up Latin as the language of literature, aimed at making it the vehicle for everyday talk and intercourse—in fact, at translating themselves wholesale into Latin.[1] To the number of these belonged one of the most renowned school-men, Valentine Trotzendorf, from 1531 to 1556 rector of the school at Goldberg, in Silesia, which Duke Frederick II of Liegnitz had raised to the rank of a princely school, and transplanted to a former Franciscan monastery. 'In eager rivalry,' wrote Michael Neander thirty years after the death of Trotzendorf, 'pupils stream in numbers to Goldberg, not only from Silesia, but also from the neighbouring lands, roused by the fame of the great master, Trotzendorf, so highly experienced and successful in the education of the young. In my young days this man was held in such high estimation that it was

non nisi plagis expiatur.' Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, p. 30, note 4. ** See L. Meniger, 'Zur Geschichte der Ratichischen Reformbewegung in Weimar' in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, x. (1900) 23–43. Wolfgang Ratich, in 1613, was the first to insist that 'it was according to the course of nature that children should first of all learn to read, speak, and write their mother-tongue correctly.' The Giessner professor, Helwig, also demanded in 1614, in a report on Ratich's method, that the mother-tongue should be reinstated in its proper place and 'learnt thoroughly well.' Von Raumer, ii. 37–41, 104 note; cf. iii[b]. 50, 55. Opinions similar to Ratich's had also been expressed on the teaching of the mother-tongue by the unknown author of the *Cyclopaedia Paracelsica Christiana*, written in the middle of the sixteenth century and published in 1585 by Samuel Eisenmenger (Siderocrates); cf. K. Sudhoff, 'Gedanken eines unbekannten Anhängers des Theophrastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, über deutschen Jugendunterricht' in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, v. (1895) 83–90. By the over-cultivation of Latin the German language degenerated into a hideous waste of tastelessness and barbarism. See our remarks on the German language, vol. xii. p. 223 ff.

[1] Cholevius, *Gesch. der deutschen Poesie*, i. 269.

thought in Silesia that, even if a youth had gone through his studies with success elsewhere, he was, nevertheless, scarcely to be reckoned among scholars if he had not for a certain period had the benefit of industrious study under the incomparable tuition of Trotzendorf.' It was said in praise of Trotzendorf that during his time even the men-servants and maid-servants at Goldberg had talked Latin. According to the report of Hans von Schweinichen, there were at Goldberg in 1566 over 140 students from the ranks of the gentry and nobility, besides more than 300 others. From that time, however, there was a rapid decline.[1] Trotzendorf himself had complained towards the end of his life († 1556) that 'the nobler arts and the learned studies are falling into disrepute, in spite of all we may do or attempt.' Above all he reiterated constantly his deep distress that he no longer found it possible to maintain discipline among the young. He attributed it to the 'instigation and cunning of Satan that insolence and bad conduct were increasing among his pupils.'[2]

[1] Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii[b]. 277–302. Trotzendorf, says Kahnis (*Innerer Gang des Protestantismus*, p. 92), 'turned his school into a Roman republic of which he naturally reserved to himself the Dictatorship. Of penetration into the spirit of the ancients there was no question. There was analysing, construing, and above all memorising. The utmost achieved was to show how much may be learnt from the ancients. The Rostock Professor, Boeer, praised on a poster the usefulness of Virgil's *Aeneid* in regard to rhetoric, mathematics and medicine. What was called logic, dialectics, rhetoric, he said, was mere soulless formalism. Disputations were held for the edification of the pupils, but very often on subjects beyond their understanding: as, for instance, whether the world's substance would come to an end or only its present form.'

[2] Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii[b]. 298. Döllinger, i. 445. In a Goldberg school ordinance of 1563 the scholars, among other things, were warned: 'Non gladiis utuntor, non armis succinguntor, . . . crapulam fugiunto—a Venere abstinento, ad puellas et virgines non

Earnest-minded educationalists who were concerned to preserve classical instruction, and to keep up a religious and moral tone in the schools, frequently pointed out how very pernicious to discipline and morality must be the kind of school books which were put into the hands of the young, tending as they did to produce a spirit of unchristian wantonness and insubordination.[1] This applied specially to the 'Colloquia'

commeanto—noctu in plateis non clamanto' and so forth. Vormbaum, i. 58. It should be specially noticed that in this, as in many other school ordinances, the pupils are earnestly admonished not to engage in the practice of magic arts: cf. the ordinances of Magdeburg (1553), of Güstrow (1572), of Brieg (1581), of Joachimsthal (1602); Vormbaum, i. 326 No. 5, 338 No. 3, 425, 577, and ii. 78 No. 4. In the Prince's school at Meissen 'books of magic were frequently found in schools.' 'In the year 1609 it was rumoured that a runaway boy had been held in contempt by his school-fellows on account of a book on sorcery which he constantly kept by him. Another boy had copied this book out word for word and had learnt from it 'how to blow up castles, and how to set the peasants fighting in the taverns, and how to bring lost objects back into their places.' Flathe, p. 195.

[1] ** Concerning the 'Latin school dialogues of the Humanists' see A. Bömer, *Texte und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, i. (1897–1899), with accurate bibliographical notices and German extracts. Part I: From *Manuale scholarium* down to Hegendorffinus, *circa* 1480–1520. Part II: From Barlandus to Corderius, 1524–1564. Bömer says (p. 5): 'Bent as the Humanists were on making the Latin language the vehicle, not only for learning and learned purposes, but for all the ordinary intercourse of everyday life in every department, they chose as themes for their school dialogues any and every thing about which the pupils might have occasion to talk, not merely confining themselves to the wide sphere of school life, but utilising all the circumstances of daily life which were likely to interest the juvenile mind. But even these did not always satisfy the dialogue writers. With the object on the one hand of keeping control over the development of their pupils as youths and grown-up men, and on the other of giving expression to feelings by which they themselves were moved, they sometimes chose subjects which must candidly be pronounced downright harmful to schoolboys. These dialogue books, however, by their very compass and manifold variety have become for us such a priceless source of information for the history of school life and of culture generally, that very few literary productions of the period can bear comparison with them.'

of Erasmus,[1] a widely circulated school book intended to make the pupils 'better Latin scholars and better boys.' For improving their Latinity it was certainly well fitted. But as for the reverence which even the pagan Quintilian required of the young, this book treated anything of the sort with lofty contempt, and the book contained such disgraceful remarks about the religious exercises of the people, such venomous attacks on the monastic life, and so many frivolous and immoral passages—(actually 'a conversation between a youth and his young woman')—that it was interdicted in France, burnt in Spain, in Rome forbidden to the whole of Christendom, and even repeatedly condemned in the severest language by Luther in his 'Table-talk.' And yet this book played a leading part in school instruction. Even Trotzendorf, although he earnestly desired to maintain a Christian basis of education in his school, introduced it at Goldberg as the first Latin exercise book.[2]

[1] ** Cf. Kneifel, *Beitr. aus Erasmus' Colloquia für die Kulturgesch. des* 16. *Jahrhunderts.* Programm, Naumburg, 1897.

[2] Schmid, *Geschichte der Erziehung*, ii[b]. 284, 290. 'How could they introduce such a book into schools innumerable! What did the boys want with those satires? Reforming is only fit work for mature men. What did they want with dialogues about innumerable subjects which they did not understand; with conversations in which teachers are ridiculed, with the gossip of two women about their husbands, of a suitor with a girl whom he is wooing, and with such a colloquy as *Adolescentis et Scorti*? This last dialogue reminds us of Schiller's Distichon called *Kunstgriff*:

Wollt ihr zugleich den Kindern der Welt und den Frommen gefallen?
Malet die Wollust—nur malet den Teufel dazu!

Would you at the same time please the children of the world and the pious?
Paint voluptuousness—but paint the devil with it.

The sort of 'instructional books' that were put into the hands of school-boys is shown, for instance, by a 'Letter-writer,' compiled in 1590 by Abraham Sawr of Frankenberg, and dedicated to 'the young scholars beginning the study of Latin and the art of writing,' and containing for their guidance specimens of 'all sorts of missives and letters which they might have to write in daily life.' Among the forms of letters 'in which one complains of a grievance,' there occurs as 'first example' the following: 'A man complains to his good friend that, during his absence, one to whom he had shown great friendship entices his wife to dishonourable conduct,' and so forth. Another 'example' describes how 'a man might reclaim his

Erasmus here paints voluptuousness to a nicety, and then sticks on something to make it edifying.' 'Teachers who made their pupils learn and declaim Terence, had no objection to the contents of the *Colloquia*; it was enough that the highest goal of education was reached by its means: readiness in speaking and writing Latin. Terence is not himself responsible if after 1500 years he was mis-used, but Erasmus, the Doctor of Theology, is responsible for his flippant book, doubly responsible in that he destined it for the young, even though the latter should through its means have become Latinists of the Latinists. In Luther's *Table Talk* there are utterances about the *Colloquia* which ought to have been well taken to heart by school-men. 'Erasmus,' he says, 'stabs through the hedge, does nothing openly, looks no one straight in the face, hence his books are poisonous. When I die I shall forbid my children to read his *Colloquia*, for he discusses and teaches in them numbers of godless things under strange, fictitious names and characters, with the intention of attacking the Church and the Christian faith.' 'Erasmus is a wolf in sheep's clothing; one sees it in all his books, especially in the *Colloquia*, for he says always: "It is not I who speak, but the people in the book." Lucian, however, I am willing to praise, for he speaks out frankly and ridicules everything openly; but Erasmus falsifies everything that is of God and all godliness under the semblance of godliness; hence he is much more objectionable and dangerous than a Lucian.' Von Raumer, i. 108, 109. St. Ignatius of Loyola fully agrees with Luther's judgment of Erasmus; he regards his writings as subtle poison which destroys all piety.

friend from drunkenness, which, indeed, was an art highly necessary and useful to many people in these days.' 'Whereas, however,' the writer continues, 'this subject is a very wide one, and beyond the understanding of children, methinks it is unnecessary to write more about it.' [1]

If books of this sort could have only an injurious effect on the young, it was even worse for them that so much of their school instruction should consist in the exposition of altogether unsuitable authors and poets of antiquity. 'Numbers of these schoolmasters, who yet pretend to be evangelical,' said the preacher Caspar Faber in 1587, 'greatly prefer reading Ovid's "Art of Loving" to their school-boys to teaching them out of the holy father Luther's beautiful catechism; yea, verily, the whole week through the old pagan voluptuaries and scandalmongers, Ovid, Terence, &c., are allowed place and room in most of the schools, while Christ on His ass, with the holy catechism and godly discipline of children, get scarcely an hour on Saturday and Sunday.' [2] 'There are a great many schools,' wrote Aegidius Albertinus, 'in which impure poetry books are driven into the pupils; the boys are made to commit them to memory, and thus they learn admirably how to be dandified, to make love, to commit adultery, to dishonour young women, to

[1] Sawr, *Rhetorica*, pp. 17, 145 ff., 164, 237 ff; cf. the 'examples' on immorality, adultery and false love, pp. 146 ff., 179.

[2] 'Sabbatsteufel' in the *Theatrum Diabolorum*, Frankfort, 1587, Part II. p. 301a. Of the habitual reading of Terence and Ovid and Plautus in the schools we shall speak more fully in the section 'School Drama.'

have secret wives, to break open doors, to get in at windows and carry off young women, &c., &c.' [1]

The first place among the North German Protestant schools was claimed by the Prince's schools, which Duke Maurice of Saxony established at Pforta, Meissen, and Grimma, out of confiscated Church goods. According to an ordinance agreed upon in 1543 with the Provincial Estates, the former Cistercian convent of Pforta was to provide school accommodation for one hundred boys and five teachers; the Augustinian convent at Grimma for seventy boys with four teachers; the St. Afra convent at Meissen for sixty boys with four teachers; these scholars were all to be maintained at the public cost, and trained up in conventual rule of life for public service, clerical and secular. The towns were granted the right to send one hundred boys to these schools, and the nobility to send seventy-six; the rest of the scholars were to be chosen by the Elector. In Meissen the number of pupils soon mounted to one hundred. With regard to instruction these schools were to take a middle place between the Latin school and the University; each boy, therefore, on entering one of them was expected to be equipped with a certain amount of elementary knowledge, and also of Latin. In reality, however, as is seen from the reports of inspectors and the complaints of the Provincial Estates, boys were often received who had none of the necessary preparation, who 'could not decline and conjugate properly,' who 'were very backward in grammar'; in the school at Meissen there were once found six boys who could not even read properly. 'It is a common

[1] *Hausspolizei*, Part VII. pp. 130[b]–131. Albertinus in his description had also in his mind the 'Poet schools' in Catholic districts.

complaint in all these schools,' says a report of 1573, 'that boys are often let in merely for the sake of the keep.' [1]

The three Prince's schools enjoyed great fame in distant parts. Thus, for instance, Anton Praetorius, a high official of the duchy of Carinthia, wrote, in 1594: 'The House of Saxony has churches and schools, both public and private, which are so well organised and managed that not only are the schools in the hereditary lands sufficiently supplied with well-qualified teachers, but learned men who have been educated in the Meissen schools are appointed far and wide in other lands to offices in the churches and schools.' [2] On the other hand James Andreä, who could observe matters from close at hand, complained as follows, in a report to the Elector, of February 18, 1579: 'That your Electoral

[1] Flathe, pp. 124, 203. Chance has preserved a specimen of a boy who was refused admission at Grimma in 1601:

'I Lorenz Dietze of Prettin have been sent by the Magistrates of Prettin that I might be received into the Prince's school at Grimma as one of the pupils the town has a right to send. If I am admitted I will use all diligence that I may show myself obedient, God-fearing, and industrious at my studies.'

'Ego Laurentius Dietze a pretinensis missus sum a consulo ad pretinensis hoc ego in scolae ad principem grimme vos susa puerorum locum habent hic loco studiam. quando nunc possum suscipi interpretabor studium quod ego me bonus et pietas et in discere opera praebere.'

That the aspirant for this favour should have been turned back will seem less remarkable than that, by the order of the magistrates, the place was kept open for him for six months (Flathe, p. 124, note 2). ** For the history of the Prince's school at Grimma, see Christopher Schellenberg, 'De visitationibus seu inspectionibus anniversariis scholae illustris Grimanae' (1554–1575), with the official reports of the inspectors, published by Paul Meyer in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. f ir deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, vii. (1897) 209–245.

[2] Flathe, p. 97, note 1.

Grace has not hitherto, as should have been, enjoyed the benefit of these scholars, as well as of the scholarships at Leipzig and Wittenberg in your schools and churches, is proved conclusively by this single fact: a suitable man to fill a superintendency cannot be found in the whole Electorate, when numbers might have been trained for such posts during the last thirty-six years if these schools and scholarships had been up to the mark in their management.' [1]

The whole school organisation rested, after the medieval model, on a Christian foundation. 'In the Christian schools,' it says in the Electoral enactments of 1580, 'three things in especial must be taught and inculcated: the first is the fear of God and true faith and religion; the second is outward discipline; the third that the pupils should become learned and intelligent people.' These were the objects at which schoolmasters should aim, and in truth the Prince's schools, as also many other Protestant institutes, did possess a considerable number of teachers, who, in spite of all prejudice against the old Church and its doctrine, held firmly and with deep earnestness to the basic truths of Christianity, and carried on the responsible work of the education of the young honestly and conscientiously in the spirit of Christian piety. All education, according to their conception, must begin with God and end in God. They insisted, therefore, as the school ordinances enjoined, on prayer and regular devotional exercises, on strict discipline and uprightness in the spirit of the Ten Commandments of God, on regularity and order in daily life, on the cultivation

[1] Flathe, p. 62.

of a sense of duty, and on persistent battling with the ordinary faults of youth.[1]

Of individual excellent scholars and teachers there was also no lack in the Prince's schools. Thus, for instance, Pforta from 1582 to 1594 had the benefit of the services of Sethus Calvisius, well known by his chronological works, as also by his musical writings and compositions, 'an honourable, upright, pious, God-fearing man, without deceit or hypocrisy'; from his school went forth, among others, Erasmus Schmid, one of the last of the German Hellenists.[2] John Rivius († 1553), appointed inspector of the Meissen schools by Duke Maurice,[3] did useful service in philology, as commentator on the text of Sallust, on the comedies of Terence, and on several of Cicero's writings. Still more noteworthy is George Fabricius, who from 1546 to his death in 1571 filled the post of rector in Meissen, and was equally distinguished as a school-man and as a philological writer.[4] The first duty of a schoolmaster was always, in his opinion, the personal training of his

[1] Even in the days of Lessing the Prince's school at Meissen still bore many traces of this earlier spirit; cf. A. Baumgartner, *Lessings religiöser Entwickelungsgang*, Freiburg, 1877, p. 3.

[2] Cf. Von Dommer in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, iii. 716–717. Bursian, p. 238.

[3] ** Concerning the labours of Rivius, cf. Bender, p. 9; for his Latin grammar, *ibid.* p. 21 f. 'A *protégé* of Rivius was Matthias Dabercustus (*ibid.* p. 9), also a native of Westphalia, in 1543 co-rector of the Prince's school at Meissen, and in 1553 called by Duke Hans Albrecht of Mecklenburg to the rectorship of the school at Schwerin. He died in 1572. 'As schoolman and scholar he is worthy to rank beside the heads of schools of the day; at the court of Schwerin he was also an authority for the education of the princes; his name, however, is little known, for it was not till the end of his life that he came out as an author, and soon after his death complete barbarism gained the upper hand in Mecklenburg.

[4] We shall consider his works later on.

pupils, whom he ever strove to incite to noble activity. Of bounteous results, however, 'in view of the insolent self-will and unbridled licentiousness of this period,' he could not boast. 'You, too,' he wrote to a friend, 'find from experience how hard and burdensome is the work of training up the young, not so much from the nature of the task itself, which capable and industrious men can well master, as on account of the coarse, godless, and corrupt usages of our age. How little value is now set on the great ornaments of our Fatherland, its churches and its schools! In how great danger do these stand! Who are more despised and looked down on nowadays than we schoolmasters, who, nevertheless, after God, serve mankind more than any others?'[1]

On the news of the death of Fabricius, the Elector Augustus is said to have exclaimed: 'That was a man whom one would like to scratch out of the earth with one's nails.' But even under such a man the attention bestowed on the schools by the Elector and the provincial government was very meagre.

One especially unfortunate circumstance attached to the three Prince's schools was the heavy stress of pecuniary need under which they laboured from the very first; for the property originally assigned to them had never come completely into their possession, and there had arisen gradually such confusion in the administration of the funds that finally, as became especially evident at Meissen, nobody knew exactly what actually belonged to the schools, and from what

[1] Kämmel, in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vi. 510–514. Döllinger, i. 527.

sources that which did belong to them came.[1] 'Our revenues,' wrote Fabricius on March 9, 1556, 'have greatly decreased, and those who have robbed us and despoiled the poor boys, do us still further injury by their lies and calumnies, after the manner of their father the devil.'[2] To the teachers were assigned as dwelling-places former clerical houses, but these had fallen into such a dilapidated condition that, in the house allotted to Fabricius in 1560, 'one wall had quite fallen in, and lay for twelve long weeks in ruins.' The teacher so highly prized by the Elector Augustus, Job Magdeburg, occupied in 1567 'a house which was not only out of repair and quite roofless, but in such a tumbledown state that it was dangerous to live in.' In a report of 1574, it says with regard to the whole body of teachers, 'they live in houses in which none of them can keep dry at night.'[3]

Equally unpleasant are the reports, both from teachers and inspectors, concerning the internal conditions of the schools. What was chiefly noticeable there, as everywhere else, was the great change that had taken place in the dress of the pupils, and which

[1] Flathe, pp. 35–36, 46. ** Bender, p. 11 f.: 'The economic expenses were paid out of the confiscated Church goods, but these, at least in the case of St. Afra, were not sufficient; and consequently there were constant complaints of the defective, frequently, too, of the self-interested, economic management.'

[2] Flathe, p. 44, note 3, where reference is made to numerous other complaints.

[3] Flathe, pp. 85–86. 'Although,' says Flathe, 'this needy condition was patent to the sight, and no inspectoral visit ever occurred without attention being again drawn to it, nevertheless, owing to the chronic want of funds, things remained on the whole *in statu quo*, and after all that had gone before it seemed quite strange when, on the renewed remonstrances of the inspectors in 1591, the captain at Meissen was instructed to inquire into the conditions there and to report.'

might easily lead to bad ways and dissoluteness.[1] The dress prescribed for the pupils was the 'dignified school-gown,' the *Schalaune*; soon, however, complaints begin about 'unusual, eccentric dress.' The school ordinance of 1580 renewed the injunction that 'the boys are not to be dressed like the Landsknechts, but are to wear sober attire, not smart clothes, slashed here and slashed there, but such clothes as are customary with honest, respectable people, each according to his position and standing. It shall not, therefore, be allowed to any of them to wear slit-up pump hose, hats with plumes, great wide sack-sleeves, slashed shoes, and so forth. Neither shall they carry daggers or *Plötze* (crackers), and if they take fire-arms into school with them the preceptors shall take them from them.' But these injunctions were so little followed that the inspectors had to report again: 'The greater number of the pupils wear short, embroidered mantles, large, wide bagging sleeves, beribboned hose, and they look more like brigands than like students. In the year 1587 the inspectors found that it was a very common thing among the school-boys to wear large stomachers and sleeves.[2]

[1] 'The old abbots and guardians,' said in a sermon J. Mathesius, pastor at Joachimsthal, 'did formerly prescribe certain rules and regulations for the young people with regard to dress. Frivolity in attire is a sign of frivolity of character. It is verily a bad thing when school-boys, students and bachelors sport felt hats, cravats, embroidered and slashed sleeves, especially those of them who get their education through charity, or have been brought up on alms. It is not indeed seemly when young men dress themselves up in smart, gaudy feminine clothes.' *Postilla prophetica*, pp. 129^{b}–130.

[2] Flathe, pp. 105, 106; cf. p. 113. In 1571 Peucer addressed a sharp admonition to the pupils at Meissen on account of the unsuitable clothes they wore, and for carrying daggers and other weapons: 'Non sitis discissis caligis, qui praeter decorum infarciuntur . . . ne geratis arma,

But there were incomparably worse evils to fight with. The history of schools from the time of their first grounding is full of complaints concerning the unruly spirit of the young. For the school at Pforta, the University of Leipzig, to which the superintendence of Pforta had been handed over in 1546, issued the following enactment: 'In cases of grave misdemeanours among the pupils, such as blasphemy, theft, immorality, contempt of the teachers or the overseer, the said teachers and the overseer shall agree together as to the punishment to be inflicted, and be mutually helpful to each other in carrying it out.' [1] At Meissen the rector Fabricius expressed himself as follows to his friend Michael Neander, the Ilfelder rector, who was visiting him: 'If we were to be absent from the school for one week, and were to leave the school-boys alone in the cloister, we should find neither cloister nor school on our return; the boys would have torn up everything in the houses and turned them all topsy-turvy.' [2] 'As far as discipline is concerned,' the inspectors reported to the Elector Augustus in 1568 about the Meissen school, 'it is only too true that the boys in many ways behave most disobediently and insolently to the rector and his colleagues, and to the manager and his staff, setting at naught our own and the preceptor's diligent and faithful admonitions, and defying your Electoral Grace's enactments.' All the schools

sive gladios, sive bombardas. . . .' *Zeitschr. für deutsche Kulturgesch.* Jahrg. 1859, p. 79. 'We learn with surprise and wonder that almost every vice and every excess of that age were already familiar at the gymnasiums: duelling, drunkenness, immorality, idleness and insolence, extending even to rebellion and tumult.' Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 188.

[1] Stübel, p. 594; cf. p. 590.

[2] Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii[b]. 418.

received, in 1580, stringent orders that 'the school-boys were not to be allowed to break open the cellars and swill themselves with wine; to break, or cut up, tables, wooden plates, table-cloths, and jugs; to associate with the cooks and other domestics of the school, nor by day or night to absent themselves secretly from school or to go into society; they were forbidden to read, or have in their rooms, lying or scandalous books, or improper pictures. They were not to take part in carousals or dances, or such like pastimes; they were not to keep any false keys.' [1] But in spite of all these regulations, the inspectors at Meissen were soon again obliged to complain of 'climbing in and out at night, of carousals in the town, of disgraceful shouting and yelling in the courtyard at night, of contempt of the preceptors, and ridicule poured on the school officials,' and other 'rowdy behaviour,' through which the school got a bad name. The rector was requested to see to it that 'all this scandalous hissing, romping, door-slamming, and riotous behaviour of the boys towards the preceptors should be severely punished.' Concerning the pupils belonging to the nobility, the Elector Augustus had already in 1554 informed the Provincial Estates that 'these young fellows had the audacity to fight and strike the schoolmasters, and had actually threatened to stab him.' It became a standing complaint that 'Boys who will not tolerate discipline leave the class impudently before the right time, and others also go away in a manner which shows that they little recognise what great favour and kindness they have received.' A new school

[1] Von Vormbaum, i. 288 ff.

ordinance of 1602 enacted, among other things, for the school at Meissen, that 'If the boys climb over the walls at night and join drinking-parties in the town, or the wine shops, they shall be shut up for several days in the school prison, and when they are let out they shall forthwith be chastised with the rod; if they distribute pasquilles and caricatures against the rector and preceptors, or annoy them in any other way with insolent tricks, they shall be punished with imprisonment, flogging, or expulsion from the school; if they dare to assault the manager, or any other member of the establishment, the ringleaders shall be punished by imprisonment with bread-and-water diet for eight days, after which they shall be flogged with rods by the preceptors, and then expelled from the school; the others who have followed the ringleaders shall have five days' imprisonment, and castigation with rods afterwards.' While the lock-up was in such a condition 'that the boys could not remain in it without injury to their health,' week-long incarcerations happened as the rule almost, not the exception. On one occasion a boy stabbed a schoolfellow to death with a stiletto, and this same boy had before this broken the arm of another boy and the shoulder-blade of a third.[1]

The school inspectors of the Saxon schools pronounced the following opinion on the teachers in 1573: 'There are only a few schoolmasters who have the instruction and the moral training of the young at heart; either they do not themselves know how to deal with these matters, or else they shun the anxieties

[1] Flathe, pp. 65, 118–122, 145, 196.

and the wearisomeness of school drudgery; add the appalling corruption of morals.' [1]

As late as about 1578 the smaller provincial towns in Saxony contented themselves for their Latin schools with handworkers, who in the summer, when, owing to scarcity of pupils, instruction had to be suspended, went off to their various trades.[2]

A sad fate overtook the once renowned school at Zwickau on the introduction of the new religious teaching. Whereas at the close of the Middle Ages this school had counted 900 pupils,[3] in 1534 it had only a small number; in spite of a temporary revival under

[1] Löschke, p. 204. The Elector Augustus had granted permission to the professors at Meissen and Grimma to indulge in a 'Vesper- u. Schlaftrunk' (an evening glass and night-cap); but this had resulted in such abuses that at Grimma alone forty-two cans of beer daily were consumed in this way, although, said the Elector, the masters were not stinted in beer at their regular meals. Flathe, p. 83. In the school at Meissen a teacher was overtaken by a boy in a theft; a school administrator was found guilty of similar offences to such an extent that capital punishment was inflicted on him in 1615. The rector, John Bechmann, was charged by the inspectors in 1616 of 'ill-using the younger boys to such an extent with beating and trampling them under foot that they were obliged to remain in bed for some time.' Flathe, p. 181 ff.

[2] Müller, *Kursächsisches Schulwesen*, xiv. xxiv. ** Concerning the schools at Schneeberg, which in the middle and second half of the sixteenth century had reached a comparatively high degree of efficiency, and which in 1564 counted 330 pupils, see Windhaus, 'Die Schule zu Schneeberg unter dem Rektor Paul Obermeier, 1555–1575,' in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, i. (1891) 197–215. From 1575 to his death in 1598 Obermeier was rector at Zwickau. At Labes in Pomerania, in 1598, the Latin schoolmaster, who occupied himself in the winter with the explanation of Cicero's *Letters*, complained that 'The boys attend school very irregularly, especially in the summer, for then they are obliged, some of them to mind the geese, some of them the pigs, some of them the calves, some the cows, some the oxen, while some of them have to follow the plough.' Bülow, *Beiträge*, p. 64.

[3] See above, p. 6. The institution had so good a repute that it attracted numbers of pupils from a long distance, even from South Germany. See Weller, *Altes*, ii. 489.

the rector Peter Plateanus (1535–1546), and in spite of the school ordinances issued in 1540 and 1566, the school never recovered lasting prosperity.[1]

We are in possession of more accurate information concerning the schools of the town of Brunswick. Of its earlier three abbey schools,[2] the one at St. Aegidius was taken away from the Benedictines in 1529 and organised as a third Latin school; the school at St. Cyriacus disappeared when the burghers pulled down the abbey in 1545; the one at St. Blasius was insignificant.[3] For the town schools John Bugenhagen had drawn up a school ordinance in 1528, but in 1535 the council already raised complaints concerning the teachers, both as regards instruction and discipline, and issued a fresh ordinance.[4] On the other hand the teachers also sent in their complaints simultaneously. The rector of the Katherine school stated that, 'For the more difficult subjects, the elements of Greek, and the elements of logic and arithmetic, there were no suitable pupils, because the parents either did not send their children to school at all, or else soon took them away and let them go to unlicensed schools.' The rector at St. Aegidius was in a still worse plight: 'The school,' he wrote, 'is attended by very few pupils, and these, if they come for *one* day, stay away for a week; the parents either neglect their children's education altogether or else send them only for a year or two; if the clergy did not use their influence in the pulpit to prevent an even deeper growth of the existing contempt of learning, the speedy ruin of all schools could not be

[1] Weller, pp. 791–797; cf. Paulsen, p. 121, ** and Bender, p. 5 f.
[2] See above, p. 5.
[3] Koldewey, p. 53 ff.
[4] Koldewey, pp. 47–49.

averted.'[1] It was not the rate of the school fees that was to blame, for these were so low that Bugenhagen calculated that a wealthy father might keep his son ten years at school for a sum which he would pay to a servant-maid once a year.[2]

At the instigation of the town superintendent, Nicholas Medler, and of a doctor of humanistic culture, an attempt was made in 1547 to start a 'higher school,' a Pedagogium; owing, however, to quarrels among the teachers and dissensions between the latter and the clergy the scheme soon collapsed. 'Almost daily,' wrote Medler in 1547 to Justice Jonas, 'I experience things which almost drive me to despair. Great in our parish is the licentiousness of the people, especially of the young, and inordinate the passion of the preachers for mixing themselves up in everything; it makes me miserable to think whither all this is leading.' One of the teachers, the famous humanist, John Glandorp, of Münster, a pupil of Melanchthon, was deprived of his post in 1548 on account of his quarrelling with the superintendent; others resigned on account of insufficient pay. Things came to such a pass, that the journeyman of a purse-maker, who had learnt Hebrew from the Jews at Posen, and a wool-comber who had

. . . partim omnino contemnunt puerorum eruditionem, partim ita frigide rem agunt, ut tota schola ruinam minitari videatur. . . . Ad paucos res rediit, cum quibus ipsis etiam pessime agitur, qui, ubi adsunt diem, rursum integros octo absunt.' He begs the superintendent 'uti per concionatores excitari aliquantum nostros cures, ut penitius paulo considerent, quorsum res reditura sit, si is *literarum extremus contemptus* radices altius egerit.' In Koldewey, p. 58. 'It is certainly not without reason,' says Koldewey, p. lxvii, 'that the rector, Andrew Pouchenius, complains (1562): 'Quid hoc scholastico munere spretius, quid vanius, quid abjectius vulgi judicio?'

[2] H. Hering, *Doktor Pomeranus, Joh. Bugenhagen*, Halle 1888, p. 55.

learnt Greek at Naples, were appointed teachers. When Medler, in 1551, stole out of the town secretly and without a word of farewell, the institution had already broken up.[1]

Under the town superintendent, Martin Chemnitz, the school system acquired a strong Lutheran colouring; all the teachers were pledged to the formula of Concord, and those suspected of Calvinism were deposed from office. How lamentable the condition of these schools was is learnt from the complaints of the teachers as to scanty pay and unhealthy school-rooms, of the burghers concerning the laziness of the teachers and the defective instruction, and of the clerical consistory, which in 1590 expressed itself as follows: 'Such an amount of negligence, spite, want of discipline and laziness have unfortunately been discovered, that there is scarcely any hope of mending matters.' In order to avert complete ruin a new ordinance, to the following effect, was issued in 1596: 'The teachers are not to be allowed to wear high, broad-rimmed hats, wide, stuffed-out stomachs, long, thick *Ranzen* [wallets ?], smart, many-coloured stockings, and other such unsuitable garments.' When a teacher 'is guilty of blaspheming, practising magic, joking out of God's Word, defiance, belittlement of superiors, of stirring up strife and faction, of carrying murderous weapons about with him, of drinking, gambling, bigamy, and other villany, of secret carousing in public taverns, eating-houses, and disreputable, suspicious places, of rowdyism in the streets

[1] Koldewey, pp. lxi–lxiii. Döllinger, ii. 77. Concerning the results of teaching Latin Koldewey says (p. lxv): 'If the Latinity of the scholars is no better than that of the "Administratio" of the Katharineum, composed by the rector Zannger, one can only regret the amount of time and trouble that is spent in learning this language.'

at night, of obscene talk, of disgraceful conduct at banquets or weddings, of writing and disseminating pasquilles and libellous lampoons, and other public offences, he shall forthwith be dismissed from his post: 'for so long as such vices are tolerated, the state of the schools cannot be improved.'[1] In the infliction of punishment 'every teacher must abstain from all manner of swearing and unsuitable language; they must not hit the boys in the face with keys, books, or fists; they must not knock them down cruelly over the benches, tear their clothes, pull their ears, injure their sight and hearing, and flog them like hangmen.'

By this school ordinance the schools were made completely dependent on the clergy; however, 'it was soon found,' says a report, 'that things would not go as the superintendent had hoped; very little—finally, indeed, nothing—was carried out,' chiefly on account of quarrels between the sub-rectors and the chief clerical authorities.[3]

After the example of Saxony numerous Protestant Pedagogiums were soon founded in other places out of

[1] In 1562 a Brunswick school ordinance had already emphatically insisted that 'the pupils must not be corrupted by the bad ways of the teachers: 'Temulentis aut hesternam crapulam redolentibus non concedemus apud juventutem aliquid operis facere. . . . Morum levitatem, dictionum turpitudinem, verborum scurriles obscenitates et diras execrationes vestitusque lasciviam aversabuntur maximopere.' Koldewey, pp. 115–116.

[2] Koldewey, p. 123 ff.

[3] Koldewey, p. lxxii ff. Hermann Nicephorus, rector of the Martineum, a zealous school-man who in 1604, at the instigation of the coadjutor John Kaufmann, was deprived of his office and his daily bread, described in 1603 as 'impedimentum proprium praeceptorum: despectus, ingratitudo, temeraria reprehensio, exigua pretiosissimi et maximi laboris praemia ac stipendia, atque hinc sustentationis et necessariorum librorum inopia, ac denique animorum dimissio et a rebus scholasticis peregrinatio' (p. 152).

the Church property of the Catholic past; in 1563 at Stettin, in 1569 at Brieg, in 1577 at Schleusingen, in 1605 at Coburg, in 1607 in Joachimsthal and other places.[1]

The Pedagogium founded at Ilfeld in the Praemonstratensian convent enjoyed a long period of prosperity under Michael Neander (1550–1590); it was declared by Melanchthon to be 'the best seminary in the land.' But if Neander succeeded for so long in maintaining good discipline, the enactments issued by him in 1580 and 1584 show what frequent antagonism he had to cope with from the whole school, and how hard he had to battle with increasing licentiousness. 'The reason why the young people,' he wrote, 'are thus demoralised, is because Satan's fury waxes stronger at the end of the world.'[2] 'When once at Dresden I visited the brothers John and Caspar Nävius, both of them physicians to the Elector, and they asked me kindly how long I had already been engaged in teaching the young, and I mentioned a goodly number of years; they said: "You are a happy man to have so long carried on so good a work—the most difficult work, in our opinion, that has to be done, and on earth at any rate, if not also in heaven, not held in much esteem." But there chanced also to be present a learned man, John Gigas,[3] who had been rector of the Electoral

[1] ** For the history of the Pedagogium in Stettin see E. Wehrmann, 'Die Disputationen am Pädagogium [academic gymnasium] in Stettin,' in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, iv. (1894) 172 ff. The statistics of the Pedagogium in Stettin for the year 1587 were published by the same man in the same work, x. (1900) 166 ff.

[2] Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii^{b}. 418–421, 422, 426, 428.

[3] See Paulsen, p. 259, note 2.

school at Pforta, and who knew a great deal about these young devils incarnate, over whom no teacher had any power, and he said: "My dear Neander, you had better have had yourself skinned alive once for all than have spent so many years with such devilish, wicked youngsters as schoolboys nowadays are." But,' Neander goes on, 'a pious, zealous teacher is not put off by this sort of thing.' He comforted himself with the words of Luther: 'Hast thou one or two pious subjects, burghers or parishioners, be thankful to God. If one neighbour, one child or one servant is well-pleasing to thee, then be content. If thou hast two or more of these, then lift up thy hands, and deem it a mighty favour; for here on earth we live nowhere else than in the devil's den of murderers and among dragons and serpents.'[1] In 1589 Neander broke out into the complaint that 'the world was nothing else than a great, wide, wild sea of all sorts of wickedness and rascality,' 'especially nowadays in these last evil times, when there was no longer faith towards God nor love towards man to be found anywhere.'[2]

[1] Havemann, *M. Neander*, pp. 25–26. 'The schools,' wrote the above-named John Gigas, preacher at Freistadt in Silesia, in 1566, 'are again declining in many places, and the boys are wild, unruly and turbulent.' 'Epicureanism is gaining the upper hand; insolence, avarice, immorality, drinking, swearing and deceit are not regarded as sins, or at any rate they count as very small offences.' *Zwo Predigten*, &c. Preface of J. Gigas, 1566 F.

[2] Havemann, *l.c.* pp. 27–35, where are given fuller details concerning the fate which Neander experienced as protector of his school and of the former convent goods that had come to it, through the attacks of the surrounding counts and lords; several times he was in danger of his life. These experiences afford a true insight into this demoralised period. In the *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins*, iii. 796, Jacobs says: 'The preacher Goldwurm was obliged in 1557 to give information concerning "common and excessive immorality and whoredom, such as is carried on in our days without any shame." . . . Such a state of morality as this in our Harz,

A relative of Neander,' Basil Faber, rector at Nordhausen, Tennstädt, Quedlinburg, and Erfurt († 1576), a first-rate school-man and philologist, had complained much earlier than Neander of the meagre results of his educational efforts in consequence of the general licentiousness of the young. The state of things seemed to him so hopeless that he no longer dared look forward to improvement. For a whole year, he wrote in 1567, he had preached to his pupils of the imminence of the Last Day in order 'possibly to inspire in some of them horror of their thoughtless security,' for, said he, 'the young in these days are much more strongly addicted than ever before to a wanton, coarse, and confident existence; there are also scarcely any who will help them in good earnest, and there is no way to be found whereby they may be roused to a sense of horror and disgust at their sins.' It seemed to him that the sinful ways at the time of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah were mere child's play compared with the present age.[1] At Nordhausen, where Faber had first worked, it was necessary in 1583 to forbid the pupils, among other things, the following offences: blasphemy, cursing and swearing, ill-wishing, contempt of church worship, epicurean talk, ridicule of the Bible and Bible texts. In school they were forbidden to break windows, to imitate the cries of animals, or to set up great noises to annoy the teacher and hinder his work. They were not to wear slashed hose, balloon-sleeves, pump hose, or to carry daggers

both in the north and the south, in the second half of the sixteenth century, is borne out by the complaints, scarcely intelligible in our days, of Neander and other teachers about the coarse, bestial, shameless lives and conduct of schoolboys.'

[1] Döllinger, ii. 617–618.

or explosives; further, they were to avoid all bad houses and suspicious persons, beer and wine taverns, public dancing resorts, fencing schools, secret dances, all nocturnal street-walking and drinking, especially at feasts and weddings. Also they were not to make any conspiracies against anyone, not to attack anybody with pasquilles and libellous writings, not to steal or cheat, not to sing indecent, immoral love songs in public. By this ordinance the council had wished to secure the school overseers whom they appointed against the calumnies and violences both of masters and pupils by 'the penalties of imprisonment, fines, or bodily punishment'; they enjoined on the masters that 'they were only to interrupt their school instruction for weighty reasons, and not, for instance, because they had drunk too much the day before, or because of weddings and so forth; they would no longer be allowed to absent themselves from school for two or three days for trifling reasons, as they had hitherto done.' Over and above this they were to abstain from 'cursing, blaspheming, wrestling, gorging and swilling, from swarming and begging in the streets, from whoredom and adultery, from thieving and usury'; also from wearing unsuitable clothing, from going about with hats cocked on one side, with short caps, daggers at their side, slashed breeches, top-boots and pump hose, wide sleeves, or otherwise dressed as if they were going to fall to pieces, doublets unfastened, and dirty shoes such as peasants wear behind a hay-waggon. They were by no means to let themselves be seen in public gambling-places and suspicious localities, or at convivial meetings after ten o'clock in the evening. Further, they were not to quarrel with and abuse each other in school or

before the boys. The masters were authorised to inflict severe punishments, but 'they were not to flog the boys up to bleeding-point, to tread them under foot, to drag them up by their ears or their hair, or to hit them in the face with sticks or books, or to use oaths and blasphemy, and other abusive language while administering the rod.' [1] School punishments of this sort had to be forbidden 'almost everywhere, because they were in such constant use.' At Göttingen the gymnasium rector, Henry Petreus, was obliged in 1586 to forbid the masters 'to belabour the boys as if they were donkeys, to pull them by the hair, to tread them under foot, or to flog them with cudgels.' [2] A rector at Wittenberg was charged 'with raging at the boys like a lion, and cutting them on the face and head with the rod till they bled.' [3] At Weimar the masters were forbidden, under pain of dismissal, to use the hitherto too freely inflicted penalty of 'throwing sticks or books at their pupils' heads; also of striking them in the face with their fists, and other suchlike cruel treatment as pulling them by the hair and ears, and so forth.' [4] Similar prohibitions were issued at the gymnasium at Brieg.[5]

[1] Vormbaum, i. 363, 374, 380–386, 391.

[2] *Neues vaterländisches Archiv*, 1828, i. 86.

[3] Löschke, p. 150 ff. [4] Vormbaum, ii. 224.

[5] The Stralsund ordinance of 1591 insisted that the masters were to use moderation in punishing their pupils; only in urgent cases 'humi potius subjectis vestibus prostratos quam mensis et scamnis injectos virgis caedant. Ita enim a luxatione et convulsatione et ruptura nihil erit periculi.' 'Orbilios enim illos plagosos, qui quondam ex puerorum ejulationibus et vibicibus posteriorumque inspectione voluptatem capere videntur, carnificinae potius quam scholae aptiores esse in confesso est.' Vormbaum, i. 514 No. 5, 517 No. 28. The Brieg school ordinance of 1581 admonishes the teachers '. . . ne quemquam vel manu vel *lapide* durius percutiant.' Vormbaum, i. 338 No. 7. After all this evidence it is difficult to agree with K. Hartfelder that 'the trend of humanism to

'But how,' asks a preacher in 1577, 'could it be otherwise that the rectors and preceptors should overflow with wrath and desperation when they saw the wild, lazy, ruffling, downright devilish nature of the young, whom they had to educate, and with whom they were often in so great danger from their wicked assaults that their lives were frequently in peril.' [1]

At the last-named gymnasium at Brieg an order was issued in 1581 that 'The rector and all his colleagues must be secured against all kinds of violence; the pupils must therefore be most urgently forbidden to practise violence in any way; they must not appear armed, or carry daggers and knives with them.' [2] The rector at Brieg, James Schickfuss, said in 1599 that the scholars had become so demoralised 'that it would be easier to find a fish without fishbones than even one pupil who was not corrupt to begin with.' [3]

Ordinances similar to that of Brieg were considered necessary also at the gymnasiums of Stralsund, Güstrow, Coburg, and elsewhere.[4]

more humane treatment of schoolboys has certainly borne fruits. If formerly the rod, or even the cudgel, was the most characteristic feature of a school, if thrashing was the most frequent pedagogic means, this was certainly improved by humanism.' Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii^{b}. 122. ** Bender (p. 44): 'The fact that the schoolmasters were again and again enjoined not to punish too severely and cruelly, not to whip the children till they bled, not to tread them under foot, not to lift them up by hair and ears, not to strike them in the face with sticks or books, &c., &c., proves clearly that such ill-usage was the order of the day.'

[1] Whitsun-sermon by M. Heinrich Doltz, Jena 1577, 5.

[2] Vormbaum, i. 138, No. 14, and 343, No. 17. [3] Döllinger, i. 470.

[4] At Stralsund, in 1591, the pupils were enjoined: 'Non sint blasphemi, maledici, mendaces, fures, ebriosi—mensas, fornaces, fenestras, parietes, seras in auditoriis sua petulantia non corrumpant—pugionibus aut sicis numquam succingantur et ab omni armorum genere abstineant—ad nuptias, solemnia, convivia, ludos gladiatorum, choreas absque permissu rectoris non accedant, aut reversi virgis caesi animo aeque ferant—com-

'The diseases from which the schools suffer,' said the Thorn college of teachers in 1588, 'do not need to be discussed at length by the town council, for they are patent to all observers: the vicious lives of the boys, the utter decay of house discipline is the source of all these evils.' [1] In a lecture which Christopher Pelargus, professor at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, delivered towards the end of the sixteenth century in the school at Joachimsthal, on 'The Sad Decline of the Schools,' he said, among other things: 'As in Church matters and in communal life almost all good order has disappeared, so, too, in domestic life complete anarchy is setting in; once upon a time our boys seemed to be formed of quite

potationes et lustra ebriorum et alia loca suspecta vitent.' Vormbaum, i. 511–512 No. 3, 14, 18, 20, 22. The Güstrow school ordinance of 1572 forbade the scholars: 'blasphemias, detestationes, abusum nominis divini, juramenta, magiam, mendacia, furta, libidines, convicia, libellos famosos, injurias, confederationes aut conspirationes, gladios, pugiones, sicas, evocationes ad dimicandum, seditiones, grassationes, symposia, publicas tabernas,' and so forth. Vormbaum, i. 577. The Saxe-Coburg-Gotha school ordinance of 1605 decreed as follows: 'Conventicula suspecta et occulta gurgustia tollantur oportet—gladiis non accingantur nec aliis armorum generibus—caedibus et vulneribus qui delectantur, in hostes nominis Christiani eant—habitationum parietes non perfodiant, non comminuant fenestras nec fornaces diffringant.' Vormbaum, ii. 17–18, No. 64, 68–69, and 20 No. 8. The school regulations of the gymnasium at Wesel speak, in 1535, of the 'asperrima durities et ferocissima longe contumacia, dissoluta licentia,' which are characteristic of most of the schools: they aim at abolishing the 'enormibus sceleribus—atrocibus peccatis.' J. Heidemann, in the Wesel gymnasial programme of 1859, pp. 29–30. The Hermannstadt school ordinance of 1598 (in Teutsch, pp. 48–61) enjoined on the rector's colleagues, as a duty: 'Tumultuantes et vociferantes, tam studiosos quam adolescentes, tum in schola, tum in conviviis et alibi compescant . . . (p. 51, No. 3). Respecting the pupils, it says, for instance, *l.c.* 55–56: 'scortationes, adulteria, omnisque vitae impuritas severe sit prohibita, personas infames, loca suspecta fugiant omnes; ad ebrietatem usque nemo se vel vino vel alio potu ingurgitet . . . . Intra scholae limites parietes, scamna, fornaces, fenestras aut quicquam aliud ne quis destruat. . . .'

[1] Döllinger, i. 536.

another metal; now, however, from their earliest childhood they are corrupt in heart and morals.' [1] Several decades earlier, in 1569, Alexander Gisius, teacher at the gymnasium at Görlitz, said in a public speech that it gave him the greatest pleasure when amid the demoralised conditions in all schools, he was sometimes able to send a not entirely corrupted boy home to his parents.[2]

Rules for respectable living and good laws, said the rector at the opening of the gymnasium at Jüterbock in 1579, had been promulgated in such quantities, that 'in this respect there was scarcely anything left to be desired; but in spite of these rules and regulations the scandalousness of morals and the turbulent insubordination of the people was increasing to such an extent that one could not tell whether bad morals produced good laws, or good laws bad morals.' [3]

The first person to speak out on the melancholy state of schools was Joachim Camerarius, a pupil and trusted friend of Melanchthon, one of the most zealous educationists and important philologists of Germany. Amid all his indefatigable labours he was, like Melanchthon himself,[4] inexhaustible in his complaints of the decay of schools, and the rudeness and insubordination of the rising generation. Almost despairing of help, as he wrote to Luther in 1536, 'The thought often came to him whether, under the disruption of all morality and the prevalent godlessness, it would not be better that there should be no public schools at all rather

[1] Döllinger, i. 535. [2] Döllinger, p. 542. [3] *Ibid.* p. 542.

[4] See his 'Oratio de miseriis paedagogorum,' published by Hartfelder in the *Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des* 15. *und* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, Heft 4, Berlin 1891, pp. 55–68.

than such institutions as existed, and seemed only meant to give free scope for sin and vice.' 'Would that I could talk personally with you,' he said, 'over these matters, for it is not empty, unfounded complaints that I am making!' [1] In one of his letters to the Meissen rector, George Fabricius, he said in 1550: 'One sees clearly that everything is combining towards the ruin of Germany, that religion, learning, morality and respectability must go to the ground.' 'What,' he exclaims, 'will the other nations say, or rather, what are they saying already? But all our efforts are fruitless, and complaints lead to nothing.' [2] Again and again he spoke of the general wantonness and ungovernableness of life and morals, of the distaste and contempt for those studies which tended to the ennobling and civilising of mankind. 'Who nowadays has any admiration for learning, who thinks it worthy of attention and trouble? It is considered all tomfoolery and child's play.' 'For the world has now got what it was striving after: unbridled licence to do and to assert whatever it likes.' Transplanting himself back into the time of his youth (he was born at Bamberg in 1500), he wrote in 1555: 'Education and life in general are quite different from what they were in our boyhood.' 'What a fire of zeal once stirred the hearts of schoolboys, in what high esteem study and learning was then held, and how much all gladly endured in order to gain some erudition, is still fully known. To-day, on the contrary, learned studies have been so pushed aside by civic disorders and dissensions of all sorts, that it is only in a few places here and there that they can be preserved from complete ruin. In the year 1560 he

[1] Döllinger, i. 524–535. [2] Kampschulte, ii. 279.

wrote as follows, in a letter to a friend: 'By reason of the depravity, the corrupt sense, and the perverted judgment of our age the proper education and training of the young are neglected; what is easy and pleasant gains the preference, what calls for exertion and painstaking is shunned. Zeal for all noble arts and learning has long since grown cold; they are either pursued erroneously, or wholly neglected, and taste and inclination have turned to other things out of which more profit is to be gained.'[1] Melancholy experiences in this respect had been undergone by Camerarius during his preceptorate in a town which in his youth had been regarded as a star of the first magnitude in the intellectual firmament of Germany; in Nuremberg, that is.[2]

At Nuremberg, where at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were four Latin schools,[3] a Protestant gymnasium was established after the introduction of the new teaching, and high salaries attached to it for four teachers. Melanchthon opened the institute in 1526; his two friends, Joachim Camerarius and Eobanus Hessus, were the chief masters; in addition to Latin, instruction was also to be given in Greek and Hebrew, and in mathematics. Melanchthon compared this town to Florence, on account of its solicitude for the training of the young; Luther praised the new institute as a German *Sorbonne*. To the Nuremberg syndicus, Lazarus Spengler, who had been the main promoter of the gymnasium, he wrote in July 1530:

[1] These utterances of Camerarius are collected in Döllinger, i. 524 527, 534; cf. *ibid.* ii. 584–590. Kindred statements, however, 'can be largely added.' Kampschulte, ii. 278, note 4.

[2] See our remarks, vol. i. p. 138 f.

[3] See above, p. 7.

'God be praised and thanked, Who has at length destroyed the thoughts of the devil, and has put into the hearts of an honourable council to build such a beautiful school, and organise it at such great cost, and place the very best people over it, so that verily it is not praising it too highly, to say that no other college, even if it were the University of Paris, has been so well provided with lectors.'[1] The renowned philologist, James Micyllus, regarded the institute as a centre of classical study.[2] Men, however, who could watch things from close at hand, such as Willibald Pirkheimer and Lazarus Spengler, entertained but slight hopes as to the success of the school. 'Your letter,' wrote Cuspinian in 1527 to Pirkheimer, 'caused me much astonishment, and I now foresee that very soon all learning and fine arts will come to an end, just as will the Empire. Up till now I had hoped that the patricians in the towns would take an interest in learning; now, however, that I see that even your Republic troubles itself little about study, I see clearly that all is lost; the gymnasium will not last long.'[3] 'Are there any intelligent Christians,' said Spengler on July 24, 1530, 'who would not be highly distressed that in a few short years, not Latin only, but all other useful languages and studies, have fallen into such contempt? Nobody, alas! will recognise the great misfortune which, as I fear, we shall soon suffer, and which even now looms in sight.'[4] Although the instruction at the gymnasium

[1] De Wette, iv. 117. ** Concerning the work of Camerarius at Nuremberg, who even there 'was hindered by all sorts of antagonistic circumstances from achieving results proportionate to his acquirements,' cf. also Bender, p. 7 f.

[2] Hagen, iii. 194.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 197.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 197–198.

was free, only a few pupils were found to attend it. Wealth alone, Eobanus lamented, and not culture, was valued. The world dreamt of nothing but saffron and pepper; he lived, as it were, among 'empurpled monkeys,' and he would rather make his home with the peasants of his Hessian fatherland than in his present surroundings.[1] In 1533 he left the town; two years later Camerarius also turned his back on the hopelessly doomed school. 'I said once,' wrote Erasmus in 1530, 'that where Lutheranism reigned, the love of learning waxed cold. If this is not true, why did Luther find himself compelled to call people back so urgently to study? Why was Melanchthon also thereto compelled, Melanchthon who in no way denied that what I said was true? Now, at any rate, a few towns have begun to appoint professors, but it will be necessary also to give salaries to the pupils. So brightly glows the love of study!'[2] Although Nuremberg 'was a populous town, well built and flourishing, with rich scholarships and renowned professors,' said J. Poliander in 1540, 'the new gymnasium collapsed for want of pupils.' 'The lecturers left it, which caused much disgrace and evil talk to the people of Nuremberg, as everybody knows.'[3] In 1552 Melanchthon found the Nuremberg gymnasium in a miserable condition. In the school regulations, repeatedly issued by the magistrate, the pupils were reproached with contempt of divine service, blasphemy, persistent defiance of school discipline, determined

[1] Krause, *Eob. Hessus*, ii. 59-60, 107.

[2] Döllinger, i. 470-472, where many more similar sayings of Erasmus are quoted.

[3] Töppen, pp. 78-79. Poliander therefore discouraged the building of a university at Königsberg; the most essential thing was to ensure the continuation of schools for children.

idleness, insubordination to teachers, drunkenness and other offences; in fact the young generation was set down wholesale as 'barbarous, rude, wild, wanton, bestial, and sinful, of such nature, indeed, as must provoke divine punishment.' Camerarius wrote from Leipzig, advising the magistrate to break up the school; in 1575 it was removed to Altorf.[1]

Things were not found to be much better in Augsburg, where formerly schools had been in such a flourishing condition.[2] In 1531, the town council there established a Protestant gymnasium in the former Carmelite convent at St. Anna; and the chief source of its maintenance was a foundation destined by the provost Ulrich von Langenmantel for poor theological students; from their own funds the council only gave the annual sum of one hundred florins.[3] But the institute could not be made to prosper. Matthew Schenk, who was appointed its rector in 1553, sent in a memorandum to the school magistrates in 1555, in which he said: 'Who, indeed, would believe that in the famous town of Augsburg, one of the first cities of the Empire, where there are more than 2000 boys needing instruction, only 150 attend the school?' Among these 150, however, there was scarcely a single one capable of writing a letter of a few lines without numerous faults. Because part of the old stipends

[1] Roth, *Zur Gesch. des Nürnbergischen gelehrten Schulwesens*, pp. 15–17. Schultheiss, pp. 14, 53. In an enactment of 1588 the pupils were forbidden wrangling, wrestling, fighting, as also to carry daggers, pistols and other weapons. 'In especial the Pauperes, who enjoyed the weekly school alms, must shun all taverns and doubtful haunts, and must abstain from all immorality, gambling, fantastic clothing, and other unsuitable things.' Waldau, *Neue Beiträge*, i. 558–559.

[2] See above, p. 7.

[3] Hans, p. 27 ff.

had been withdrawn the number of pupils went on decreasing; they were driven to taking in boys who could scarcely speak, still less read.[1] In conjunction with his colleagues Schenk presented a special petition to the preachers, begging that 'they would exhort the young from the pulpit to attend school, and to study the arts and sciences.' Under the distinguished philologist and schoolman Hieronymus Wolf, one of the most thoroughgoing Hellenists in Germany in the sixteenth century, who had held the rectorship since 1557, the institute expanded into nine classes, and Wolf delivered lectures in a 'public auditorium.' However he found little to delight him 'in a town striving only after gain and pleasure.' 'The auditorium,' he wrote, 'had been turned into a free hunting-ground for all sorts of waggery.' 'Better instructed youths, who come to Augsburg from elsewhere, go away after one or two lessons, and say that "Wolf teaches in such an elementary manner." This he must needs do unless he would lecture to bare walls, because he very seldom has any even moderately forward pupils; barbarism is setting in completely, and all the noble arts are going to the ground.' Wolf ended his days in 1580, amid bitter laments over countless disappointments and defects, over the wretched pay of the teachers, the laziness and ungovernableness of the boys, and the indifference of the parents: as to home discipline, which was so greatly needed in the training

[1] '. . . . Ad summam: eo res tandem rediit, ut in supremum puerorum ordinem et eorum, qui in schola doctissimi habentur, numerum ii recipiantur et sint omnino recipiendi, qui, quod turpissimum est, unum et alterum verbum, ita ut puri sermonis ratio postulat, connectere non possunt.' In proof of this Schenk gave specimens of test-work done by the pupils of the first class. Hans, pp. 64–71.

of the young, the greater number did nothing at all.' 'They tended their pigs with almost greater care than their sons.'[1]

At Esslingen the preachers complained to the council in 1547 that, 'in consequence of insufficient school attendances, there were no capable preachers and teachers to be had, nor any learned jurists, scribes and advocates, but only ignorant people and uneducated blockheads.' Moreover, preachers and scholars were treated with such contempt that they were scarcely provided with daily bread, while they were over-burdened with mule's labour, abused, and rewarded with ingratitude and slander.[2] Again and again new ordinances were issued for the Latin schools,

[1] Hans, p. 33 ff. Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii[b]. 434 ff. Döllinger, i. 454-455. *Zeitschr. des Histor. Vereins f ir Schwaben und Neuburg*, i. 145 note. Antony Christopher Hörmann, the son of a patrician of Augsburg, was taken away from the gymnasium of his paternal city in 1588, and sent to the Latin school at Memmingen in order, as his grandfather wished, 'not only to continue his studies, but also to learn arithmetic and writing.' In the following year—he was then fifteen—he wrote in a Latin letter to his grandfather, 'In arithmetic I have got to multiplication of fractions, and as you, according to your great understanding, write that the rule of three, with fractions, must be thoroughly mastered before beginning the practical application, I am thinking of devoting myself for a little while to these.' As regards Latin, his grandfather, as he wrote to the Memmingen rector in 1590, on examining the boy did not find him 'very well grounded and practised.' 'I should have been well pleased,' he said, 'if he had not learnt so much Ciceronian writing and talking, but had rather learnt the ordinary phrases and formulas of speaking and writing.' According to an extant catalogue the German books used by the schoolboys in those days were: Luther's Bible and his *Table-talk*, a Latin-German Psalter, a Latin-German Prayer-book by John Avenarius, the '*Hauspostille*' of John Gigas, a *Papal History* and William Kirchhof's *Wendunmuth*, in which were '550 polite, modest and merry stories, satires and parables.' Among the Latin books, most of them intended for instruction, were the *Colloquia* of Erasmus. *Zeitschr. des Histor. Vereins f ir Schwaben u. Neuburg*, i. 147, 155, 158 note 160.

[2] Pfaff, *Gesch. von Esslingen*, p. 234.

but always without result. A scheme of reform, proposed in 1588, was never brought into effect; the condition of the schools grew worse and worse; there was quite as much ground for complaint of the negligence and low characters of the teachers as of the bad conduct and insubordination of the pupils.[1]

At Basle, after the introduction of the new teaching, the number of schools became reduced to three. In 1535 Capito complained that in the Latin school at Münster there were not more than three boys 'of whom it was to be hoped that they would go on with their studies'; five years later the pupils there had dwindled down to such a small number that all the three classes could be held in one room; the office of schoolmaster changed hands no less than six times between 1537 and 1541; after this, however, Thomas Platter managed to retain the post, in spite of enormous difficulties, for thirty-seven years, though his assistant teachers changed frequently during that time, owing to the meagreness of their pay.[2] Respecting school discipline and the results of tuition, great complaint was made in 1542 that 'the boys were trained to be lascivious, insolent, and unruly'; in 1552 the council complained that the university to which the management of the lower schools had been made over 'kept no account of them.' 'The pupils in the lesser schools,' it was said, 'are badly instructed, and all sorts of

[1] Pfaff, p. 742. ** Concerning the state of the schools in the imperial city of Esslingen a. N. before the reform of the town, O. Mayer writes in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für die Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, ix. (1899) 109–122. A school ordinance of the Latin school at Memmingen of the sixteenth century (about 1564–1581) is published by E. Reichenhart, *c.* i. (1891) 69–83.

[2] Fechter, pp. 42 ff., 79.

unruliness goes on. The preceptors and provisors are either concerned with other occupations, or else frequently give themselves up to idleness, contrary to old customs, and neglect their young pupils; such deficiencies ought no longer to be tolerated by a respectable government.'[1] Fresh regulations were introduced, but they were not effective in restoring the decaying condition of the schools. Not till 1583, after alarm had been caused in the neighbourhood by the attendance of Protestant pupils at flourishing Jesuit schools—at Lucerne in 1574, at Freiburg in the Uechtland in 1580—was any serious system of reform evolved. In 1589 the three Latin schools, which then numbered a collective attendance of 354 pupils, were united in one gymnasium with six classes, and the educational programme was as follows: 'To keep the boys under the rod until they could speak and write in the Latin tongue, and had also some knowledge of Greek.' Nevertheless, in 1597, the verdict of the university was that 'the students coming from the gymnasium had no proficiency either in writing or talking Latin.'[2]

Of the condition of the schools in the Württemberg district, Michael Schütz, styled Toxites, professor at Tübingen, and 'arch-pedagogue' of the entire duchy, drew an appalling picture in a memorandum addressed to Duke Christopher in 1557.[3] Duke Christopher, in his Church regulations of 1559, made special provision for school education by the erection of Pedagogia at Stuttgart and Tübingen, and of several convent schools, which were to prepare for the university. At Tübingen he founded a stipend for 'one hundred poor

[1] Fechter, pp. 48, 78, 83. [2] Fechter, pp. 48, 78, 83–99.
[3] We shall come back to this later on.

and impecunious children of the land, who were to devote themselves mainly to the study of theology,' and in the most stringent manner he urged on the stipendiaries that they must wholly abstain from 'all cursing, swearing, and blaspheming, from the scandalous vice of immoderate drinking and toasting, also from all irregular carousing and reckless gambling, within and without the stipendium; likewise from all debauchery, and from intercourse with objectionable and suspicious people, from all secret haunts and disreputable houses.'[1] Nevertheless, from decade to decade complaints were loud against the stipendiaries for idleness, wantonness, and immorality, although it was represented to them in the statutes that they were being nurtured on charitable alms. 'Every stipendiary,' says an enactment, 'who is drunk over head and ears' shall be punished with imprisonment.[2] Of the schools started in the South German Protestant territories, 'the first was the Pedagogium founded at Ansbach in 1529. Its rector was the famous humanist, Vincent Obsopaeus (Koch).[3]

At Heilsbronn the Lutheran-minded abbot Schopper had established a school with considerable funds. It had very little success, however, as an examination held in 1555 showed, for the big boys as well as the little ones could not answer two words of Latin. In 1562 the government of the Mark issued the following

[1] Vormbaum, i. 137 ff.

[2] 'Si quisquam ita inebriatus fuerit, ut ad ambas, ut dicitur, aures sese ingurgitaverit, punietur carcere pro arbitrio praeceptorum.' Schnurrer, *Erläuterungen*, p. 439; cf. pp. 478–482. ** Concerning the organisation of the 'convent schools' in the duchy of Württemberg as compared with the Saxon Prince's schools, cf. Bender, p. 14 ff.

[3] ** Roth, *Einfluss des Humanismus*, p. 52.

command: 'The institute shall in future consist only of twelve pupils, who must be children of the land; children of foreign subjects shall be excluded.' Then when, after the lapse of two years, the warden and the magistrate of the convent besought the territorial lord that, 'whereas the teaching of the Holy Evangel had again come to light,' they might be allowed to admit twenty-four pupils in order that 'the children and orphans of poor pastors and church officials might taste a morsel of bread,' their petition was granted. In 1575, however, the government of the Mark complained that 'almost all discipline and order had ceased in the school; the schoolmasters and cantors, hitherto, had been men of shallow learning, but good boon-companions and drinkers, so that they had lost all authority, and had occasioned disobedience and idleness among the boys.[1] Three years later the Ansbach theologians petitioned that 'the Margrave would at once give help to the school at Heilsbronn, so that it might not go altogether to ruin, as, to our dire misfortune, happens almost to all our well-appointed schools in these troublesome times.'[2]

[1] Muck, *Gesch. von Kloster Heilsbronn* i. (Nördlingen, 1879), 419-420, 480, 527-529.

[2] Döllinger, i. 540. Concerning bad school conditions at Heilsbronn in 1585 see Muck, iii. 32 ff. Preachers who spoke their minds on the deteriorating conditions of schools pointed out that in other countries—in Denmark for instance—'the new preaching of the evangel had borne better fruits.' Thus William Schrader, in a sermon on the serious abuses and disorders in the evangelical churches and schools of Germany (1604), said: 'In other countries where the clear light of the evangel has risen—in Denmark for instance—the state of things is far better as regards the discipline of the young, and the excellence of schools, teachers and pupils.' In Denmark itself, however, this was not the general opinion. In 1594 the Danish imperial councillors represented to the bishops that 'the decline of schools was undeniably great.' The bishops themselves said in 1608,

The one among the Protestant town schools which kept up a very high standing for a long period was the gymnasium erected at Strassburg in 1538, the scheme of which had been promoted by James Wimpheling as early as 1501. The rector, John Sturm, was one of the most famous writers on education of the day, and the pedagogue principles which he laid down in a multitude of pamphlets were introduced into many schools. He himself had gone through the school of the 'Brothers of the Common Life' at Liège in the years 1521–1524, and at Louvain and Paris he had learnt both the older system of teaching, and the improved method introduced by humanism. According to his plan of organisation the Strassburg institute was divided into three sections: a preparatory school for the alphabet stage, the actual gymnasium with six classes, and an upper section in which learned lectures

at a synod at Copenhagen: 'Barbaries tandem metuenda est, nam minitantur passim scholae ruinam et verendum, ne brevi destituantur idoneis hominibus, si occluditur praemii janua. Videmus namque paucissimos esse, qui velint studia illa diligentia excolere, quae in scholis requiruntur, et suscipere graviores illos labores scholasticos.' Pontoppidan, iii. 38, 66, 579. As early as 1540 the Protestant bishop, Peter Palladius, who exercised a kind of general surveyorship over the whole church and school organisation of Denmark and Norway, had written as follows in his visitation book: 'Our forefathers were more diligent in sending their children to school, although they did not understand so much of God's Word as do we, in these days which have been enlightened by the pure evangel. At that time, when I was a schoolboy, the schools were crammed up to the roofs. In the school at Ribe there were 700 pupils and at Roskilde 900, all of them studying to become monks or readers of the Mass. Now there sits a devil in the hearts of the nobles, the burghers and the peasants and keeps them back from letting their children study, although they know right well that their children are intended from the cradle to receive instruction. The rascally devil does this in order that soon there may be nobody left who is able to proclaim the Word of God, and so the people may fall back into their former errors.' From the 'Visitatz Bog,' &c. (Copenhagen 1872) in the *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, lxxxi. 431.

were held.[1] Sturm insisted that the boys should begin to learn Latin as soon as they were six years old, and the next year they were to begin to talk Latin and to make verses; on the completion of their ninth year they were to have mastered Latin to some extent; in the tenth year instruction in Greek might be added: 'grammar and exercises in Aesop and Demosthenes formed the first stage, and the next year Cicero and Demosthenes, Virgil and Homer, also Sallust and Plautus were to be read; systematic progressive teaching went on up to the sixteenth year. Sturm regarded it as a great privilege for Roman children that they spoke Latin from their earliest childhood, and were surrounded only by Latin-speaking people; the misfortune of this not being the case with German children must be made up for by the diligence of the teachers and the use of right methods. He had, he said, exorcised Plautus, Terence, and Cicero from the nether world, in order that they might talk with the boys.[2]

The institute gloried in a splendid attendance; in 1542 its pupils numbered over 500, in 1546 actually 624;[3] they came from over the whole of Germany, and even from foreign lands, and sons of princes and nobles were included in the numbers. However, in

[1] Fuller details are given in the *Festschrift zur Feier des 350jährigen Bestehens des protestantischen Gymnasiums zu Strassburg*, published by the preceptoral staff of the Protestant gymnasium. Two parts in one volume. Strassburg, 1888. ** Concerning Sturm's educational labours in Strassburg and his dependence on Dutch school systems see also Duhr, *Studienordnung*, pp. 7–12.

[2] 'The aim of all learned instruction is defined by Sturm in a happy formula as "sapiens atque eloquens pietas." Eloquence was to be taught in the schools; subsequent (university) education had to supply the substance of learning.' Paulsen, p. 194.

[3] According to Sturm's statement in a letter to Camerarius of April 12, 1542. Kückelhahn, p. 29, note 1; cf. p. 33, note 3.

1566 Sturm was already obliged to report to the council that very few pupils stayed on for the end of the course in both the upper classes, not to speak of the public examinations; the upper classes, which were the most important ones, attendance at which was the actual object of the institute, were half empty; instead of sixty to seventy, not more than nine pupils had come up for the school examination during the last years.[1] Sturm asked the council to solicit the Emperor for academic privileges for the institute. These were bestowed by Maximilian II in 1567, but the hoped-for result did not ensue. 'He had remarked,' Sturm wrote, that 'it was a very difficult task to give lectures at the academy on poets, historians, and orators; such lectures were often not attended at all, or very sparely; also the prescribed number of attendances was often neglected; discipline had died out; teachers were greatly despised.'[2] Besides this there were deep-rooted and never-ending religious dissensions between him and the staunchly Lutheran Strassburg theologians, John Marbach and John Pappus, which worked ruin to the institute, and in 1581 led to the resolution of the council to relieve Sturm of his office, 'in consideration of his age, and for other reasons.'[3]

Religious dissensions between the school overseers

[1] Paulsen, p. 196.

[2] In his *Acad. epistolae* of 1569 (cf. Kückelhahn, p. 35, note 3) he says: 'Disciplina, quae nunc dissoluta est: confusa quadam petulantia atque licentia; non solum intermissis, sed saepe omissis auscultationibus necessariis, magno cum contemtu magistrorum et ipsorum discipulorum pernicie.' Von Raumer, i. 263. Kückelhahn, p. 36, note 3, *Brief vom Jahre* 1571. ** A Strassburg professor describes the academy in 1570 as 'ruens et quasi jam desolata.' W. Horning, *Dr. Johannes Marbach*, Strassburg, 1887, p. 83.

[3] Kückelhahn, pp. 31–38.

and the preachers, especially on the doctrine of justification, and about the Lord's Supper, were indeed a cancerous evil preying on Protestant school organisation in general. It was a very frequent occurrence for the preachers to complain that the school-children were the victims of all sorts of misleading influences and heresies. 'Alas!' wrote Sebastian Krell, preacher at Eisleben in 1562, 'what multitudes of vicious wanton misleaders there are everywhere, nowadays, among schoolmasters and teachers, men who instil into the poor young children poison which cannot easily be eradicated afterwards.' Similar complaints came from the Mansfeld superintendent, Spangenberg, in 1568: the young, he said, were corrupted at school by wicked and abominable heresies. Not even the devastating Turks had worked such fatal evil as the originators and defenders of corrupted doctrines had caused in the last years in schools and academies.' The theologians of the towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Lüneburg pointed out, at a convention at Möllen, in 1576, that it was undeniable that 'by the invention and dissemination of false doctrine, by inflammatory speeches, disputations and lectures, by the infusion of heretical opinions through the agency of school officials, grievous injury has been occasioned in numbers of towns and hamlets, and countless errors have been kept up, as the ruin of many churches shows, and as pious Christians heartily lament.' [1] Hieronymus Wolf, 'strongly as he

[1] Döllinger, i. 433, 436–437. 'On the one hand the rector regarded the preacher as a spiritual tyrant, who, without being his superior in knowledge, wanted, nevertheless, to compel the rector to adopt and carry on in the school whatever kind of teaching he (the preacher) approved of. 'In those days,' to borrow the words of the preacher Mathesius, 'after that God in His mercy had allowed His Word to appear

represented the strict Christian standpoint,' was, nevertheless, anxious, as rector of the gymnasium of St. Anna at Augsburg, to see religious teaching abolished as a special subject of instruction, for the theological venom and spite mixed up with it, which poisoned the souls of the young, and which must inevitably choke all their delight in practical Christianity, grieved his inmost heart.[1]

Concerning the theological dissensions of all sorts which went on between preachers and teachers, and into which, to their especial detriment, the schoolboys were often drawn, fuller details are given in the school histories of Amberg, Bremen, Breslau, Coburg, Eisleben, Gardelegen, Göttingen, Gotha, Hanover, Hildesheim, Hirschberg, Hornbach, Königsberg, Lauban, Lau[redacted], Lübeck, Mühlhausen, Ratisbon, Rostock, Strassburg,

again, by the machinations of the devil there was no town or village where the people were at unity, and very few pastors and schools in any one town, or officials in any one church, were of one mind.' Döllinger, i. 437. ** 'We hear on all sides,' says Roth (p. 39), 'that parents will not send their children to school because they have no confidence in the permanence of the new religious conditions brought about by the Reformation. Others are indignant at the violence with which those belonging to the new religion carry on in the schools perpetual dissension on questions of doctrine, above all on justification and the Lord's Supper. Thereby a very sore point is touched; for it is a fact that the young nowadays become acquainted with religion as a party question, and that, in spite of Luther's warning to beware of disputatious matters in schools, the religious instruction is not seldom (!) coloured by polemics.' 'However,' says Roth, by way of consolation, 'this polemical tendency is to the fore also in the Catholic schools, in which it is a matter of principle to inculcate in minds of the rising generation that the teaching of the new religionists is a network of folly, lies and blasphemies, and to make it hateful and contemptible in their eyes.' But on the Catholic side there was at any rate unity on Catholic teaching, whereas the Protestants were all quarrelling among themselves.

[1] ** Roth, p. 73.

Stettin, Zittau, Zwickau, and many other towns.[1] 'It would almost seem,' said the pastor and professor

[1] See the statements of Döllinger, pp. 427–460. Respecting the influence of the continuous dissensions on the schoolboys, Döllinger (i. 435) says: 'From earliest youth the boys were drawn into the religious battles of the adults and the quarrels of the teachers; they learnt religion essentially in the form of a party question, and were forced to suffer all the disadvantages of a religious condition in which the chaos of individual opinions and the tumult of sectarian strife took the place of one sane authority, resting on a principle sanctioned by traditional history. Meanwhile it also happened that the boys opposed strong resistance to the rector's endeavours to bring them round to his views.' With equal aptness Döllinger says in another passage (i. 419): 'Instruction in religion received from the first an exaggerated polemical colouring; it was first and foremost calculated to present the whole existing structure of Christian religion as a network of folly, lies and blasphemies, and to make it seem most hateful and contemptible in their eyes, and, moreover, to draw them into those strifes and dissensions which went on in unbroken succession among the followers of the new religious doctrines. Thus the young minds were early brought to look down upon the former generation, and even on their own immediate ancestors, as blinded individuals, sunk in the darkness of self-conceived illusions and crazes, while at the same time, through constant listening to violent pulpit invectives and slanderings at an age when trusting attachment and surrender to a higher authority is a normal necessity, they were filled from the very first with suspicion, hatred, and resentment.' Concerning the manner in which the young themselves in the small Latin schools were made acquainted with the theological strifes of the day, and filled with acrimony and hatred against the opponents of the theological views of their school rector, there are instructive communications in Th. Distel's *Der Flacianismus und die Schönburgische Landesschule zu Geringswalde*, Leipzig, 1879. The school there, founded in 1566, counted, under the rector Hieronymus Haubold, with a cantor to assist him, twenty-six pupils in its two classes. Haubold used to set the boys certain arguments to answer, as for instance: 'Whether it was true that D. Major taught that good works were necessary for salvation, whether he recanted, and what devil had raised the proposition?' 'whether it is possible to convince the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians that they are Synergists?' 'whether the theologians at Wittenberg and Leipzig are sound teachers?' 'De Adiaphorismo'; 'whether it is right that the secular princes should set themselves up to reform the Church of Christ with new mandates, to drive out faithful preachers and confessors, and put them in prison, as has been done in many places?' The last question Haubold answered as follows: 'It is, alas! but too true that the devil has so possessed and blinded the poor men, that having eyes they

Vickart, in 1575, at the opening of the school at Altorf, 'as if the perpetual quarrels and dissensions of the present day were driving all the schools to ruin.' Valentine Erythraeus, also, in a speech on the same occasion, said: 'The laudable magistrate [at Nuremberg] has considered it his duty to erect a new school, and for this reason especially, that educational institutes everywhere are being torn and ruined by internal dissensions, so that learning is going to the ground, and study falling into contempt.' [1]

see not, and having ears they hear not—nay, through the very evangel they grow more wicked, which is indeed a lamentable thing. . . .' Such mandates were 'not only contrary to God's Word and command, but also against all reason and propriety,' and so forth. When the Elector Augustus of Saxony put Wolf von Schönburg, the patron of the school, in prison for being a Flacianite (see our remarks, vol. viii. p. 166) Haubold made the school-children address the following prayer to God: 'How canst Thou suffer that we, Thy poor wandering sheep, should be robbed of our shepherd, and devoured by wolves and hirelings? How will Thine enemies rejoice! Thou hast as it were prepared for them a jubilee spectacle. Go to, if Thou lettest us be put to shame Thou wilt Thyself be put to shame; if Thou lettest us be trodden down Thou wilt Thyself be down-trodden; how canst Thou tolerate it?' In 1568 the Elector Augustus ordered a visitation of the 'thoroughly Flacian school,' and then sent 200 men to Geringswald (they filled two carts with ladders, chains and rope) to take Haubold prisoner. But Haubold had escaped. His assistant teacher had to make atonement by incarceration for the 'arguments' in which the Electoral religious mandates were 'denounced as tyrannical and so forth'; the school was closed. Cf. especially pp. 13–14, 37 note, 47 ff., 89–95. The 'arguments' dictated to the schoolboys at Ratisbon and Breslau should also be compared in Döllinger, i. 432–433.

[1] Döllinger, pp. 433–434. How greatly, for instance, the Pedagogium at Heidelberg, the first learned school of the reformed faith in Germany, suffered from the contentions of the teachers among themselves and with the authorities, and the contentions among the authorities, is seen from the detailed accounts of J. F. Hautz in his history of this Pedagogium, Heidelberg, 1855, p. 6 ff. The result of an examination held in 1574 showed that: 'None of the pupils, either in the first or the other classes, can even do a little bit of writing grammatically; the third class is altogether neglected. With regard to the management and surveillance of the institute, everything is at sixes and sevens; the directors are all so at logger-

A further cause of disaster to the schools was the fact that almost everywhere in all lands, among all classes, high and low, there was a decrease of benevolent gifts to the teachers and the schools, and it was often heard said that 'it was just like giving to the devil to give to schools and schoolmasters': 'under the darkness of the papacy things had been incomparably better. Under this darkness,' wrote Conrad Porta, dean at Eisleben, at the turn of the sixteenth century, 'all, from the highest to the lowest, had contributed generously to the schools and churches; even farm-servants, maids and day-labourers had not withheld their share; now, however, under the clear light of the Gospel, even the well-to-do classes were for the most part so meanly disposed, that they were annoyed if they were even expected to give a small pittance to churches or schools; it was scarcely possible to keep decent roofs over these buildings.'[1] In like manner

heads with each other that the school must inevitably fall to pieces.' The expressions used by the co-rector, John Jungwitz, 'against the whole clerical council [the religious board of superintendence] were the same as those with which Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen* closes his declaration to the imperial field-marshal on the summons to surrender.' Of the rector, Christopher Schilling, he complained that 'he never ceased abusing; he had even set the pupils, as an exercise, to write a bitter article against him,' p. 28. For the way in which the teachers Pareus and Grave behaved, cf. pp. 17–18.

[1] Döllinger, ii. 296. ** Roth says (p. 39 f.): 'Another source of misfortune to the schools was that the generous charity which had grown out of the teaching of the old Church, and had spent itself in countless endowments and foundations for churches and schools, came suddenly to a standstill. The secular authorities, who now managed the schools in place of the Church, were very nimble and prompt in seizing Church goods and emoluments, but very slow and unwilling when anything was wanted from them; the reformers were full of indignation at this state of things, and could not find words enough to complain of this "unchristian conduct," and they often spoke with bitterness of the "far better conditions that had prevailed in the time of the papacy." Here too,' Roth adds,

spoke Christopher Fischer, superintendent at Smalkald, in 1580: 'Our dear forefathers, by testaments and other charitable endowments, provided plentifully for the schools; now, however, we are daily finding out that love for the poor, and for poor students, has grown quite cold; people regard as wasted money what they give to churches and schools.'[1] The Mansfeld superintendent, Sarcerius, had some time before made similar complaints.[2] John Asseburg, in a school sermon at Tangermünde, in 1609, pointed out 'how much people gave under the papacy for the building of churches and schools': now, however, the most trumpery erections were run up for the purposes, 'as if they were building sheep-houses or barns,' and one often saw churches without a tile to cover them or a pane in the windows, and neither masters nor pre-

'it is a question of overcoming the travails of a transition state.' But the admonitions of Luther to the wealthy classes were not without fruit later on. A poor consolation!

[1] Döllinger, ii. 307, 309.

[2] In the pamphlet, *Von den Mitteln und Wegen, die rechte Religion zu erhalten* (1554), fol. 7. Cf. the utterances of Draconites in 1544, and of George Major in 1561 in Döllinger, i. 139, 527–528. In Lezner's *Chronicle of the Town of Göttingen* it says: 'Formerly in this town much care and bounty was expended on the foreign poor scholars, and they were not allowed to suffer want. And they had every week, at the Ritterhof [manor-house] a special prebend for their food. The two monasteries, though themselves subsisting on alms, abundantly provided for them. Item, from the four parishes and from the Kalands-priest's house they received always a certain portion. The town squires and other wealthy persons stretched out towards them a charitable hand. In the Cistercian farm half a malter of rye was baked every week for the poor students; from the council-house also alms were distributed among them from the guilds and fraternities. Now, however, they are looked on grudgingly, and still more grudgingly is a crust of dry bread handed to them; much more willingly is money given to jugglers, jesters, buffoons, obscene actors, bawds, and other infamous people.' *Description of the Town of Göttingen*, iv. 8. Cf. Döllinger, i. 466, note.

ceptors nor pupils could stay in them on account of the wind and the rain, nor had they enough space or benches to sit on.' [1]

'Who can deny,' said a preacher, in 1577, 'that the papists speak the truth when they say that under the evangelicals almost all charitable benevolence has ceased, and that preachers, preceptors, and schoolmasters are so meanly paid that they cannot keep their wives and children, and are often obliged to live by begging? I heard a highly renowned preceptor, who had long presided over different schools, say once that the miserable schools and institutes could not be kept going, but must collapse in most places, because the teachers and officials did not receive sufficient pay; and this, he said, was the case even in great principalities and towns, where princes and rulers spent huge sums yearly on pomp and pleasure of all sorts. And yet the teachers of the young ought to have enough to live on; but they had not, let alone that they could not afford to buy books; and the schools themselves often looked like caverns; and where the masters did have dwellings assigned them, these were often dark, bare, tumble-down rooms where wind and rain drove through. And it is the truth and nothing else that he described.' [2] The Ilfeld rector, Michael Neander, wrote as follows:

> 'Many provincial Diets meet,
> Many things are discussed with heat,
> But the poor children are forgotten,
> The schools are left to grow quite rotten.' [3]

[1] Küster, *Antiquitates Tangermundenses*, iii. 8–12. The Elector Joachim Frederic of Brandenburg said in 1600: things were often so strange in some of the parishes that 'the churches and schools were more like barns and cow-sheds than houses of God.' Mylius, i[a]. 349.

[2] Whitsun sermon of M. Heinrich Doltz, Jhena, 1577, p. 8.

[3] Sawr, *Rhetorica* (1590) B2[b].

When, in 1588, the famous Suabian humanist Nicodemus Frischlin undertook the rectorate of a Latin school in the town of Brunswick, in his address on taking office he drew a picture of the school conditions there, which was applicable to pretty nearly all German schools of the period. 'You complain,' he said to the members of the council, 'that this school has lapsed into decay, and you wish by my instrumentality to restore it to repute. Well, here I am. I am ready and willing. Only give us space wherein we, teachers and pupils, can fulfil our duties.' But as regards space and quarters, not only for the people's schools, but for those also of all classes, things were in a very bad plight.[1] The worst evil, however, was the want of efficient teachers, a want which was easily enough explained. 'For the men who had spent the whole day amid the stench and din of the schoolboys, and had become half-deaf, half-consumptive, were often obliged when they went home to eat the bread and drink the water of affliction. Were it not that examples are odious I could mention towns where the swine and cow herds were better paid than the schoolmaster.'[2]

From Goslar the rector, George Thym, complained in 1553 that 'the salaries of the sorely plagued schoolmasters were so meagre that a common day-labourer was often paid more highly for the work of his hands than was a teacher; it is easy, therefore, to understand why the bitter office of teacher is shunned by most men.'[3] The council of Aschersleben said, in 1589, that

[1] For what Frischlin said on this point see above, p. 37.

[2] Strauss, pp. 422–424.

[3] *Zeitschr. des Harzvereins*, xx. 335.

the poor school officials were often paid less than plough-boys.[1]

Thus, for instance, to give a list of examples, the rector of the Latin school at Adorf, in the Electorate of Saxony, which counted eighty to a hundred pupils, received, besides the school fees, a yearly sum of eighteen florins; the second master had no regular salary, and depended entirely on what the council was graciously pleased to give him. At Mühltroff the school fees were abolished, and the rector—in compensation for their loss—was paid four florins a year. The rector at Brand had no salary, and had 'to content himself with the *Pretium* of the boys, which, moreover,' it says in an inspectoral report, 'was given him most grudgingly.'[2] At the Johanneum (St. John's School), in Lüneburg, the annual salaries of six teachers came to 400 marks. When the co-rector, Lucas Lossius, a first-class schoolman, received in 1568 an addition of eighteen marks to his pay, he expressed his thanks publicly to the council in the dedication of a book.[3] The four masters at the Latin school at Gotha were better off; their collective salaries amounted to 240 florins a year, besides an allowance of corn and firewood.[4] At Querfurt, in 1555, the rector received twenty florins a year, and eight groschens as school fees from each boy; the second master had only twelve florins,

[1] *Neues vaterländisches Archiv*, Jahrg. 1829, ii. Heft 4, pp. 45–46.

[2] Müller, *Kursächsisches Schulwesen*, p. xxiv.

[3] Görges, p. 8, note 1, and p. 4. ** Concerning the salary of the master at the Johanneum in Lüneburg, cf. *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, i. (1891) 126 f. (W. Schonecke, 'Henricus Nigidius, Kantor am Johanneum zu Lüneburg von 1539 bis 1549').

[4] Ruhkopf, p. 338, note.

the third actually no more than four;[1] at the same date at Köslin the rector had a yearly salary of thirty florins, the second master twenty florins, and the third ten.[2] The distinguished theologian George Major says in his biography that he had been obliged to give up the rectorship at Magdeburg on account of the smallness of the salary; in spite of persistent requests the council would not raise it.[3]

At Augsburg, in 1549, the masters at St. Anna and St. Martin all agreed to apply for an increase of their very small salaries, but the council would not grant their petition; only Sixt Birck, rector of St. Anna, a prolific writer of religious plays,[4] and the schoolmaster at St. Martin were to have 'this once ten florins each, and the other teachers five florins.'[5]

One grievous impediment to the well-being of schools, dating from the Middle Ages and still continuing, was the uncertain position of the masters, who, almost everywhere, were only appointed for a stated time, just as servants were hired and dismissed at the will of their employers. Thus, for instance, the teachers at the gymnasium at Torgau were obliged every year to request the council to allow them to retain their posts in the school.[6] At Augsburg the

[1] Förstemann, *Neue Mitteil.* i. 127. [2] Von Bülow, *Beiträge*, p. 11.

[3] Ruhkopf, p. 339. [4] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 345.

[5] Von Stetten, i. 460. 'With teachers so badly paid,' says Ruhkopf (p. 340), 'it was mere chance when a school had the good fortune to have a clever and high-toned master; for the prevalent distaste for the office of schoolmaster was so far from diminishing, that the post came rather to be regarded as a purgatory through which men passed into the paradise of a parsonage.'

[6] Burkhardt, p. 189. ** The complaints of the decline of the schools entered also into the Latin poetry of the sixteenth century. 'That the schoolmasters also complain of their evil plight and of the downfall of learning,' says Ellinger (p. xxvii f), 'is easy to explain in view

teachers had to bind themselves to remain for six years; the council, however, could set them free whenever it liked.[1] Frequently the teachers themselves resigned on account of meagre pay. 'The schoolmasters,' says, for instance, Noltenius in the Chronicle of the town of Wolfenbüttel, 'have seldom ended their days here; most of them have only stayed a short time, and either resigned their posts and left of their own accord, or else have sought other occupations in addition, whereby the schools have suffered, and the pupils, if not left to become quite demoralised, have at any rate been much neglected, and few of them have grown to be scholars.'[2] At the gymnasium at Weilburg, also, the frequent changing of the teachers was considered a chief reason of the decline of the school; these changes, however, were occasioned by the poverty of the teachers who could not pay for the bread they had from the bakers.[3]

of the melancholy conditions which prevailed in spite of all the efforts of the reformers; in this connexion see especially the elegy, *De contemptu artium et eas docentium miseriis*, by Matthew Mencelius, 1570; but the most touching expression of this complaint is in Henry Uranius's poem, *De ludi magistrorum miseriis* (1567), a little volume which one reads with most real sympathy.'

[1] Hans, p. 34, note.

[2] Döllinger, i. 426.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 455. At the gymnasiums at Weilburg, Idstein and Eisenach in 1600, the salaries of the rectors were so small that men were appointed to the rectorship who were also physicians, and who carried on their medical practice side by side with their duties as rectors. Hautz, *Rektorschule in Heidelberg*, ii. note 37. ** 'Of school ordinances, some of them quite admirable,' says Roth, *Einfluss des Humanismus*, p. 65, 'there was no lack at the Reformation period; for a long time, however, there was a great dearth of teachers, and this caused the reformers the greatest anxiety and often drove them to bitter complaints. This dearth is to be explained on the one hand by the fact that the new Church system had first to train its own teachers, and on the other hand by the sadly low scale of remuneration, handed down, indeed, from the Middle Ages,

At Wernigerode it was looked on as a great and special act of grace that the ruling Count, 'for the bettering and improving of the maintenance of the rector of the Latin school and his collaborators,' granted the said men, after 1538, the yearly sum of five florins.[1] The rector of the school there and his colleague of Halberstadt were, at a wedding in the Count's family in 1541, taken up to the Count with the 'company of players' and 'with the cantors' received a gratuity, 'at the outside not higher than that given to the bagpipe player, and only half as much as a barrel-organ player received.'[2] That with such extraordinarily low stipends, the schoolmasters in many towns[3] should nevertheless often be complained of for extravagant dress, gorging and drinking, is explained as follows by a pamphlet of

and which, as Erasmus said, was 'worse for a schoolmaster than for a groom.' [In the appended note 236, p. 102, Roth, without ground, accuses Janssen, who 'naturally sought to represent the matter in this way,' of making out that 'the misery of teachers began first with the Reformation.'] 'Even Melanchthon, the prince among the schoolmasters of his day, complains of the haughty contempt to which teachers were subjected, not only from the ignorant, the tradespeople, the despisers of all culture, but also from those demigods who rule at the Courts' (*Corp. Reform.* xi. 299). 'Added to this was the wretched drudgery which the process of "Latinising" the boys caused not only to the pupils, but also to the teachers. . . . As the office of schoolmaster was generally regarded as an annex of and passage to a clerical post, it was inevitable that every teacher in turn should strive to get away as soon as possible "ex pulvere scholastico," and to escape from the "purgatory of school service" to the "paradise of a better parochial charge." The result was that schools were often at the mercy of thoroughly inadequate instructors, who, instead of being able to teach, were themselves obliged to learn, or to men who kicked at the drudgery of elementary teaching, especially at grammar. Of others, who were not wanting in the necessary learning, it was complained that they were too much enamoured of academic forms, and that they did not take sufficient account of the boys' capacities.'

[1] *Zeitschr. des Harzvereins*, i. 144.

[2] *Ibid.* vii. 28, 42–43.

[3] See above, p. 88.

1564: 'Rectors and schoolmasters get as a rule a mere dog's ration from the authorities, but they earn a good deal in other ways: they are astrologers, calendar makers, soothsayers, nativity tellers; they make up congratulatory rhymes for festivities, they frequent all houses where they can eat and drink; they are jesters at weddings and christenings, and they do other things of the sort. Schoolmasters are cantors, and cantors and cans, they say, rhyme and go together.' The author, however, was far from including in his description 'the many good, industrious, and excellent teachers of youth, whose number is not small.' [1]

In numbers of towns, although the necessities of life rose in price, the pay of schoolmasters was lowered: for instance, at Dresden, where the Supremus of the school, who had formerly had eighty florins a year, was cut down to twenty florins. In Schwarzenberg the council reduced the pay of the schoolmaster in order to give salaries to the town scribe and the organist.[2] At Wollin in Pomerania the rector and the master petitioned the members of the Church Visitation Board in 1594, saying that 'All things necessary for human maintenance were getting dearer from year to year, whereas they were not even allowed to retain their former stipends, which were reduced to still smaller sums; this pay was not even given at the right time; they did not receive it till six or nine months after it was due. It was impossible to keep themselves, and to buy a bundle of wood or clothing with this pittance. Because of the lack of firewood the boys were taken away from

[1] *Mahnung von menschlichem Verderben, wie es mehrsten Teils zugeht* (1564), p. 2.

[2] Müller, *Kursächsisches Schulwesen*, p. xxv.

school.'[1] The rector and the masters at Artern spoke in the same strain: the former said that 'Hitherto he had been always treated with kindness in return for his arduous work, but now things were getting worse and worse: the pay came in very slowly, and he had as it were to beg for it piece by piece; the school-rooms were in such bad repair that one could no longer move about safely in them.' The second master, whose stipend was fixed at thirty florins, 'was obliged, long after it was due, to beg for it in single florins or groschens from the churchwardens.' The third master rejoiced in the yearly sum of thirteen florins, with a little class-room and a bed-closet, in the first of which the furniture consisted of benches nailed round the wall and one old table.[2]

Even in the wealthy town of Lübeck the whole receipts of a teacher at a learned school did not equal the sum which a student received as annual stipend; accordingly the schoolmasters were advised not to marry, unless they had some other calling besides by means of which they could feed themselves. The dwelling accommodation given to each of the masters in the former Franciscan convent at St. Katharine was a sitting-room with a bed-closet, and a little space in the cellar where they could keep a tun of *covent* (thin beer): the same refreshing drink that was poured weekly into many hundreds of cans and dealt out to beggars.[3]

[1] Von Bülow, *Beiträge*, pp. 12–15.

[2] *Zeitschr. des Harzvereins*, i. 122, 124, 125.

[3] Grautoff, *Histor. Schriften*, i. 256–259. ** Concerning the meagre, often quite insufficient, stipends of the schoolmasters, see also Bender, p. 42 f. 'Under such circumstances,' says Bender in conclusion (p. 43), 'it was inevitable that respect for the position of schoolmaster should quite cease. The slight appreciation bestowed on them, however, often

It was quite an extraordinary exception when now and then a town here or there spent some hundreds of florins yearly in salaries to distinguished schoolmen, as for instance in the case of Joachim Camerarius and Eobanus Hessus at Nuremberg, and Hieronymus Wolf at Augsburg.[1] At Frankfort-on-the-Main the highest pay of the gymnasium rector did not exceed 150 florins. This sum was given to the distinguished philologist James Micyllus, appointed in 1537 on the advice of Melanchthon; his successor, Theobald Oswalt, was paid in 1547, for himself and his two 'substitutes,' 180 florins. John Knippius was appointed in 1550 at a salary of 150 florins; George Drimpelius in 1562 at 125 florins. The two collaborators begged the council in 1555 to set them free from herding cattle, watching and other feudal services; they were dismissed, however, with a refusal.[2] In order to incite the Protestant authorities to give better pay to the schoolmasters, Nicodemus Frischlin, in his inaugural address at Brunswick in

arose from the fact that their services were far from praiseworthy. That mischief and harm were often done in private lessons is noticed, for instance, in the Breslau school ordinance of 1570; these lessons, however, could not be forbidden so long as the masters were so badly paid. . . . But complaints were frequent concerning incapacity, inefficiency, neglect of duty and moral delinquencies. Therefore, it says in the Nordhaus school ordinance, 'masters and pupils must always be kept in terror'; many of them only come to the school two or three days in the week; they begin lessons unpunctually, carry on other occupations during school hours, and maintain no discipline. . . . Not seldom both rectors and masters had to be discharged on account of scanty services or moral offences; objectionable scenes often occurred among the masters; drunkenness is a frequent failing. It must be admitted that in the choice of schoolmasters the magistrate was often wanting in prudence. Since, therefore, so many masters were guilty of misdemeanours of this sort, one cannot wonder that bad ways often crept in among the schoolboys.'

[1] Paulsen, p. 183; *Schmid, Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii[b]. 434.

[2] Lorsner, II. ii. 107, 110-112.

1538, contrasted the stinginess of so many of the Protestant towns and princes with the generosity of the Catholics as regards their schools; even the Protestants recognised that among the latter the splendidly appointed schools of the Jesuits held the foremost rank.[1]

[1] Strauss, pp. 422, 423; see above, p. 118. The Protestant pastor, Dr. George Mertz, busies himself in a comprehensive work: *Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im* 16. *Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1902) to show that the unfavourable opinions about the influence of the religious split on schools and education are unfounded. This attempt has completely failed, as Dr. Paulus sets forth in a critique of Mertz in the *Theol. Revue*, iv. (1902) No. 11. Mertz is not only convicted of great ignorance of medieval conditions, above all of the teaching and institutions of the Catholic Church, but his thesis on the sixteenth century is refuted wholesale. To show the nature of Mertz's work the following leading passages of Dr. Paulus will suffice. He says: 'Mertz allows that with the beginning of the Reformation schools had actually retrograded' (p. 2); 'yet these same schools in the second half of the sixteenth century had attained a flourishing condition' (p. 72). 'The Baden scholar has undoubtedly compiled a very industrious work, but it does not appear from his showing that school education in the sixteenth century was in a flourishing condition. He quotes, indeed, many fine passages from Luther and Melanchthon, and admirable decrees from all the numerous church and school ordinances; but of the fulfilment of these decrees we hear mighty little. The author contents himself chiefly with stringing together, in wearisome profusion, extracts from the two principal innovators and from the school ordinances: he omits, however, to tell us how far the beautiful theories were carried out in practice. He refers sometimes to the second volume of Janssen's great historical work in which the subject of schools is only superficially handled, but of the seventh volume, in which schools are discussed exhaustively, he makes no mention whatever. And yet, perhaps, it would have been advisable to have called attention to this particular volume, seeing that on the basis of abundant Protestant evidence it paints the actual condition of Protestant schools in the sixteenth century in anything but rosy colours. The long catalogue of Protestant schoolmen whom Mertz brings forward in his second section cannot be reckoned as forming counter-evidence. For many of these are only known by name; many others, and by far the most distinguished of them, belong to the period of pre-Lutheran schools, and laboured in the first half of the sixteenth century. In this long list of school-men, moreover, there are a number of preachers whose services in regard to education cannot be very highly rated. It is strange that among "the most important pedagogic writings" which are enumerated in this same section the following pam-

phlet of Amsdorf should also figure: *Ein kurzer Auszug aus der Chronica Naucleri, wie untreulich eigenwissig und betrüglich die Päpste zu Rom mit den römischen Kaisern, bevor ab deutschen Namens und Bluts, gehandelt haben* (p. 76) ("A short extract from the *Chronica Naucleri*, showing how disloyally, arbitrarily and deceitfully the Popes of Rome dealt with the Roman Emperors of German name and blood"). Extremely strange it is also that Erasmus of Rotterdam should be counted among the Catholic scholars who praise "the flourishing condition of instruction and education in the evangelical lands" (p. 63). Mertz refers here to the assertion of Erasmus in 1520, that "the whole strife against Luther arose out of hatred for learning and the fine arts," as also to a letter of the year 1506, in which Erasmus expresses the hope that Zwingli will develop the school system of the Swiss people. Thus, at a time when there were no Protestant schools, Erasmus actually praised the flourishing condition of these schools! And herewith, forsooth, the well-known saying of Erasmus in 1528, "Ubicumque regnat Lutheranismus, ibi literarum est interitus," is stultified! John Zwick, also "Professor and Dean of the Catholic theological Faculty at Freiburg" (p. 63), is credited with praising the Lutheran schools. This man, however, was *Protestant* preacher at Constance, and not professor of the theological faculty at Freiburg. Mertz must have been thinking of John Zwick, who belonged, not to the theological but to the philosophical faculty.' This work by Mertz is only a fresh proof of the utter inability of Protestant learning to refute the crushing proofs brought forward by Janssen from authentic records. It is worthy of notice that the *Historische Zeitschrift* (lxxxix. 354) calls Mertz's book 'fundamental,' and says quite naïvely that 'the quintessence of its researches is an ever clearer refutation of the opinion, shared also by Paulsen, that the Reformation worked injury to the schools.' How it actually stands with these 'researches' Dr. Paulus has shown in the above-mentioned review. Let it here be further remarked that the *Historische Zeitschrift*, in the ten years which have passed since the appearance of the present volume, has not dared to inform its readers of the contents of that volume. Janssen, indeed, cannot be refuted. Therefore it was thought best to treat him with dead silence. What has been the result of this sort of procedure, which does not pass muster in these days, is shown by the present 13th and 14th edition. In opposition to Mertz see also K. Schulmann, *Die Volkschule vor und nach Luther*, 1903, and Sagmüller in the Tübingen *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1904, p. 495 f.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOOLS IN CATHOLIC TERRITORIES

THE decay of the old schools which set in after the outbreak of the religious revolution was noticeable also in the districts which had remained Catholic. Here, as in the Protestant parts of the empire, the great impetus which learning and culture had received at the close of the Middle Ages either subsided or else completely died out. In the first decades after the advent of Luther there was undoubtedly greater zeal on the part of the new religionist leaders for the promotion of new schools, which should be the actual nursery grounds of Protestantism, than on the Catholic side for the restoration and improvement of institutes for the education of the young, which should serve for the preservation and defence of the Catholic religion. To all appearances it was as though the Protestant higher school system would far outbalance the Catholic schools, just as at that period the number of distinguished school-men among the Protestants far exceeded that of the Catholics.

But with the spread and development of the Jesuit schools a change came over the face of affairs.[1]

[1] For the labours of the Jesuits in general and their triumphs over their opponents, see our remarks, vol. viii. pp. 215–230, 275–292, 312–320, 334–341 ; vol. ix. pp. 294–416 ; vol. x. p. 203 ff. ** Concerning the system of study and the pedagogic and didactic principles of the Jesuits in general see the introduction to Duhr's *Studienordnung*, pp. 1–174.

Peter Canisius, the first provincial of the Order in South Germany, was always careful to arrange that the schools of the Order should be supplied with numerous and experienced teachers. In this connexion he addressed many admonitions and many complaints to his Roman superiors. 'Among all the provinces of our Society,' Francis of Borgin, the then Vicar-General of the Order, said to him on May 16, 1562, 'none is so liberal with tuitional forces as your German province'; and on May 30, 1562, he wrote as follows to Canisius: 'I assure you that we do a great deal for your province, as much, possibly, as for all the other provinces of the Order put together; it is as if we had nothing else to think of here but to train the workers for Germany.' [1]

If competent Catholic judges had complained in the years 1538, 1541 and 1550, that, whilst Catholic schools were in a state of collapse, the Protestant schools were in a flourishing condition and drawing to themselves the whole youth of Germany,[2] three decades later, after a number of Jesuit schools had sprung up, the tables were turned, and equally competent Protestant judges, from different parts of the Empire, pronounced these Jesuit schools to be far superior to their own in instruction and discipline, and complained that numbers of Protestant pupils attended them. William Roding, for instance, professor at the Pedagogium at Heidelberg,

In the historical part of this introduction Duhr deals especially with the influence which the practice of Christian humanism in the Netherlands had on the educational views of St. Ignatius, and consequently on the school system of the Jesuits, just as the University of Paris became the standard for the organisation of the system of higher study.

[1] ** *Canisii Epistolae*, iii. 440, 451. See also Al. Kröss, S.J., *Der selige Petrus Canisius in Oesterreich*, Vienna, 1898, pp. 145–148.

[2] See above, p. 58.

in a pamphlet entitled 'Wider die gottlosen Schulen der Jesuiter,' and dedicated to the Elector Palatine Frederick III., wrote: 'Numbers of people, who nevertheless wish to be thought Christian, hand over their children to the Jesuits for instruction. This is extremely dangerous, for the Jesuits are wonderfully astute and cunning philosophers, and they are above all bent on applying their whole stock of learning to the education of the young; they are the most expert and shrewd teachers imaginable; and they know how to take advantage of the natural bent of each individual scholar.'[1] In Hesse the superintendent George Nigrinus, in 1582, expressed, likewise, his deep distress at the fact that Protestant parents, even among the noble and the burgher classes, did not scruple to send their children to the schools of the Jesuits and 'to boast of their zeal and industry.'[2] The year before this, the Protestant, Andrew Dudith of Breslau, had said to a friend: 'For my own part I do not wonder when I hear of anyone going over to the Jesuits. They possess many-sided learning, they are eloquent, they teach, they preach, they write books, they hold disputations, they impart gratuitous instruction to the young, and that with indefatigable zeal; over and above all this, they commend themselves by lives of moral purity and modesty; on the other hand, among those who boast the name of Protestant, learning is not great, at any rate not great enough to stand comparison with the scholarly culture of the Jesuits.'[3] From Prussia, in 1568, came the complaint of Joachim Mörlin's on the

[1] See our remarks, vol. viii. p. 339.

[2] Nigrinus, *Papistische Inquisition* (1582) p. 722.

[3] Sudhoff, *C. Olevianus und Z. Ursinus*, Elberfeld, 1857, pp. 504–505.

preference which Protestant parents showed for Jesuit schools: 'The Pope and his boon companions are sharp enough to see that all depends on the children; that is why the devil is so cunning in them, and makes this sect intent only on providing good schools (for which indeed they have skill enough), and lavishing on them more labour and industry than we, alas! give to our schools; by this means they not only entice the young into their nets, but they also steal away the hearts of the pious parents, who without further consideration give their children up to them because then the young things soon learn something useful.'[1] When Nathan Chytraeus, professor at Rostock, spoke in 1578 of the 'universal complaint' that the young were 'as it were steeped in wantonness and licentiousness' he paid a tribute to the Jesuit schools, which easily explains the fact that Protestant parents as well as Catholics bestowed their favour on them. Many people, he said, ascribe this wantonness and unruliness to a divine judgment; but this was criminal, for there were still numbers of excellent schools. 'What, then, shall we think about these schools of the Jesuits, as they are called, independently of religion? Verily these schools, scattered about everywhere in such different and far distant places, could not exhibit everywhere such admirable discipline, and such industry and perseverance among teachers and pupils in the fulfilment of their duties, if the collapse of discipline, which we deplore elsewhere, were sent as a divine judgment.'[2]

[1] See our remarks, vol. viii. p. 335 ff.

[2] Döllinger, i. 515–516. Ruhkopf (p. 378) says: 'In the Jesuit colleges the young were educated at no great expense, and kindly and carefully treated, and the poorer children were admitted free of charge. The Jesuits comported themselves like kind fathers: gentle admonition,

One element in the Jesuit schools which was of primary importance both in education and instruction was that the pupils were taught and trained by priests and men devoted to the religious life: men to whom linguistic lore, humanist studies—learning, indeed, of every kind—were not ends in themselves, but only the means towards the attainment of a higher object—Christian culture; men who had renounced the world, and by long years of practice in self-conquest had fitted themselves for the office of teacher; men who were members of an Order the apostolic labours of which stretched far beyond the bounds of Europe. These men did not, like the teachers of the old convent schools, confine themselves chiefly to training up new generations of members of Orders, but aimed

tender reproofs, took the place of bodily punishments, which were most seldom resorted to. They could thus reckon on retaining the strong attachment of the pupils after they had left school. In these schools there reigned a moral purity which one sought for in vain among the Protestant schools and universities. Barbarous punishments were never known in the Jesuit schools, for the altogether reprobate children, whom gentle means did not appeal to, were not kept at school, but sent back to their parents. In these schools such utter depravity could not occur, for the Jesuits kept carefully away from those entrusted to them everything that could possibly injure their characters or hinder their good training. The cleanliness and order kept up in the pupils' rooms, in their dress, and in all the little domestic arrangements, were exemplary, and the care which was bestowed in case of illness was sedulous and tender in the extreme. Everywhere they were under the surveillance of their teachers, who were always themselves present at their games and physical exercises, to which certain hours were devoted, and who never let them go out of their sight.' Even the enemy of the Jesuits, E. Zirngiebl, allows (p. 317) that 'In their schools there was such capacity for teaching, such courtesy, and such discipline, that the higher classes, and even numbers of Protestants, were glad to send their sons there; the statutory gratuity of the instruction given attracted the sons of the less well-to-do classes. In this manner the Jesuits prepared a reaction which not only gave a check to Protestantism, but also recovered from it that of which it had robbed Catholicism.'

also at giving the young a training which would prepare them for secular as well as theological study later on. The teaching of languages and secular knowledge in general was given the preponderance; the hours of special religious instruction were few, but by the personality of the teachers, by their own views and standpoints, by the spirit which permeated the whole system of teaching, instruction was subordinated to education, and the latter was impregnated with religion.

The mere intercourse with teachers who were consecrated to the service of God by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, who daily observed the practice of contemplative and verbal prayer, could not but have an ennobling influence on the boys. Accompanied by the masters, the boys daily attended the sacrifice of the Mass, frequently received the Holy Sacraments, and in the confessional obtained spiritual direction suited to their age. A religious family spirit drew masters and pupils close together. The regulated discipline and ordinance of the Order-house extended its influence to the school, and controlled youthful exuberance, without impairing the young spirit itself in its freshness and joyousness.

All the Jesuit institutes were alike governed by the rules given, by command of the founder of the Order, Ignatius, in 1556, to the Jesuits who were sent to Ingolstadt. Among these was the decree: 'The school shall be managed according to the directions of the superior, and the latter shall see to it that each and all shall exert themselves bravely, and shall regard as the one object of study the advancement of learning for himself and others. In order, however, that all may

preserve the health and strength which are requisite for the service of God, they shall be careful, both in their studies and in their devotions and spiritual exercises, not to overstrain themselves; all things must be done with moderation, and with due regard to the circumstances of the individuals, the place and the time. A special person shall be appointed to watch over the health and physical strength of the community, and also a special sick-nurse, who shall give special care to the sick members and procure whatever is prescribed for their recovery. Admission to the schools shall be accorded to persons of all conditions who are discreet in conduct and submissive to discipline; there shall be no overburdening with work; the number of school hours shall be fixed and regular; wisdom and discretion must be exercised in the allotment of necessary hours of recreation and in providing proper food; neither alms nor presents are to be accepted from the pupils.'[1]

As regards the observation of the school ordinance and prescriptions for study, it was a general principle in the Jesuit schools that hope of distinction and fear of disgrace were better incentives to diligence than the fear of the rod. Accordingly the regulations enjoined that 'Corporal punishments shall be used only very sparely; for ordinary school offences the severest punishment shall be only six strokes with a rod. No member of the society shall personally chastise a pupil; this

[1] Pachtler, iii. 458 ff.; cf. i. 130, 131. Concerning the Jesuits' ideal of education and the prejudices and attacks of modern Protestant opponents, witnessing often to 'a downright startling want of critical sense in dealing with original documents,' see Duhr, *Studienordnung*, p. 24 ff. For the training of the masters on the moral and religious, as well as on the learned side, see *ibid.* p. 34 ff.

shall be the office of a specially appointed "master of discipline"; every teacher shall abstain from injury to a pupil either by word or deed; solitary incarceration shall only be allowed when the rector, the superior of the prefect, gives special sanction. When a pupil resists a punishment, or gives no hope of improvement, is an annoyance to his school-fellows, or a source of moral corruption by his example, he shall be dismissed from the school.'[1]

Respecting instruction in religion, Ignatius, in 1556, had laid down rules for the Ingolstadt Fathers which came to be the common code in all the institutes of the Order. All teachers, he said, must be careful to plant the Catholic doctrines in the hearts of their pupils, even of the youngest; virtues and good morals must be inculcated, and it must not be thought that learning is the only thing to be considered. Carefully the teachers must strive, both in school and in the pulpit, to point out the truth of the pure faith, and to do it in such a manner that Christian love and discretion may be felt by any heretics who may be present; no single abusive word must come from the lips of the teachers, nor must they show annoyance at any errors; from the simple demonstration of the Catholic articles of faith the falsehood of the Protestant doctrines will be recognised.[2] For the right appreciation of the Jesuit schools the following facts should be considered.

Although the Order at the time of its origin was

[1] See the regulations in Pachtler, i. 64, No. 5, 160, 164, 267, No. 29, 279, No. 250, 320, No. 10, and ii. 369, 395, No. 39, 459. ** Cf. also the sections concerning school discipline and punishment in Duhr, *Studienordnung*, Introduction, p. 50 ff.

[2] Pachtler, iii. 470 (No. 12), 474 (No. 6).

divided into provinces corresponding to the political divisions of Europe, there was nevertheless a great deal of interchange and lively intercourse between them in the same spirit of fellowship which had once upon a time bound together the men of the schools and of learning all over Europe. Foreign Jesuits taught in Germany, German Jesuits taught in foreign countries. Lesson books compiled by Italians and Frenchmen were used in German colleges, just as those of Father James Gretser and James Pontan [1] were sent to Italy, France and Poland. Towards the building up of the common system of study of the Order, scholars of all nations worked together, and the experiences of the Germans who were most largely engaged in the great duel with the Reformation were of no less benefit to the Catholic lands than were the traditions of the old Catholic school system to the Germans.

At Cologne, where in 1544 the foundation of the first German Jesuit school was laid, the management of one of the three town gymnasia was made over to the Fathers in 1556,[2] and it soon threw the two others far into the background.[3] Father Peter Canisius, the most important agent in founding the system of higher education of the Jesuits in Germany, had expressed his opinion, in various letters to his associates at Cologne and elsewhere, on the methods and aims of study in the humanist and philosophical departments, and had urged the holding of school disputations in Latin and sermon exercises in German. Thus on December 14, 1551, he wrote from Ingolstadt to Cologne: 'I greatly

[1] Concerning which we shall speak later on.
[2] The Gymnasium Tricoronatum.
[3] The Laurentianum and the Montanum.

wish that you would exercise yourselves and your pupils in German. With us on holidays the students hold discourses, now in Latin, now in German.' Soon afterwards, on January 2, 1552, Canisius reported from Ingolstadt to St. Ignatius in Rome, as follows: 'On Sundays and on feast days a number of students come to us in the afternoon; one of them is then expected to deliver an address; formerly they did this in the Latin language, now we have got on so far that they can do it also in German. It is, I think, a good training for them for the office of preacher.' [1]

For the cultivation of pure Latinity it was decreed at the Cologne University (and later on elsewhere) that Cicero should be the exclusive model. After the pattern of the medieval schools, talking Latin was enjoined in school hours in the Protestant as well as in the Jesuit schools.[2] By means of public

[1] *Petri Canisi Epistulae et Acta*, ed. O. Braunsberger, S.J., i. Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1896, pp. 389, 394. In letters to the Vienna Jesuits in 1557 and 1560, Canisius advised them to practise their young people in the German language. The Jesuit general, James Laynez, in a despatch from Rome, March 1, 1561, expressed to the rector of the Munich College his satisfaction at learning that German was diligently studied there. *Ibid.* ii. 145, 582; iii. 630.

[2] Pachtler, i. 135–138 ff. Concerning the German language, we read in a memorandum of the inspector, Ferdinand Alber, for the Mayence College in 1602: 'Exercitium linguae germanicae commendatum sit.' Pachtler, iii. 145. According to a school ordinance of 1560 on Saturday afternoon an hour's catechism-instruction in the German language was to be given in the third class. Pachtler, i. 154. Oliverius Manareus, inspector of the Rhenish province, issued the following order in 1583: For French pupils, who are sent by their parents to learn German, no Frenchman must be appointed as teacher, 'ne negligentiores illi fiant in germanica (lingua) addiscenda et nostrum collegium pluribus personis aut oneribus gravetur.' Care must be taken 'ut discipuli germanicae linguae peritiores aliis condiscipulis ejus ignaris hanc caritatem praestent, ut constructiones et themata eis interpretentur.' In the schools every possible care was to be bestowed in order 'ut sermo latinus inter omnes discipulos

examinations, public school lectures, extempore addresses, public and private disputations, a lively spirit of competition was to be kept up among teachers and learners.[1] But they were by no means to be used as incentives to vanity and ambition.[2]

At Cologne the Fathers gave instruction not only in Latin and Greek but also in mathematics and astronomy, and already in 1558 they counted almost 500 day pupils and sixty boarders. Twenty years later, after the gymnasium had been increased to seven classes, the numbers had mounted to 840, and in 1581 to 1000 day pupils and boarders,[3] in spite of all the difficulties which the professors of the other gymnasia

vigeat, neque liceat eis libere et assidue germanice, aut lingua patria loqui.' Resistance to this order was to be punished by a 'Nota' or a Signum, which was hung on to the pupil. Pachtler, i. 277; cf. 171. The general school ordinance of 1599 decreed that 'With the exception of those schools in which the pupils did not yet understand Latin, the speaking of Latin must be kept up most strictly. Therefore in all matters *which belong to the* school, the use of the mother-tongue must not be allowed; trespassers must be "noted or signed"; the teacher himself shall always speak Latin.' Pachtler, ii. 385. In the Protestant Latin schools and gymnasia still ess attention was given to German than in the Jesuit schools, and talking German outside school hours was punished more severely. See our remarks above, p. 67 ff.

[1] Pachtler, pp. 142–143, 146.

[2] Thus, for instance, the school regulations of the years 1560–1561 contained the following injunction: 'Omnibus quam maxime persuasum erit se bonis literis non alias ob causas vel a parentibus destinari, vel a praeceptoribus institui, quam ut hinc Dei Opt. Max. gloriam ac suam aliorumque salutem facilius quaerere, firmique tueri queant. *Unde philautiam et inanis gloriae cupiditatem a se modis omnibus extirpare nitentur.*' Pachtler, i. 169. In the general 'Ratio studiorum' of the Jesuit schools it says: 'Competitions are generally so arranged that either the teacher asks questions and the competitors vie with one another in answering, or else the competitors question one another mutually.' Exercises of this kind are highly to be prized for the sake of 'encouraging honest emulation [honesta aemulatio], which is an immense help to diligence.' Pachtler, iii. 392 f.

[3] See our remarks, vol. viii. p. 242, and vol. ix. p. 313.

and of the university had long occasioned them.[1] Besides the gymnasia and the Latin preparatory schools, there were also at Cologne twenty-two parish schools conducted by the pastor, and eleven abbey schools over which the abbey *Scholaster* presided. The keen competition for higher studies that went on resulted in numerous, often very excellent, school foundations.[2]

From Cologne the organisation of Jesuit colleges, with which gymnasia were connected, spread to Mayence and Treves in 1561, to Heiligenstadt in 1575, to Coblentz in 1582. In 1581 the number of scholars at Mayence was about 700, at Treves about 1000, at Coblentz and Heiligenstadt about 200.[3] Of the last-named institute it is definitely stated that besides Latin and Greek, instruction was also given in history and geography, and later on also in mathematics.[4]

In the Rhinelands, before the advent of the Jesuits, lively interest in the organisation of higher study had already been aroused: simple old Latin schools were expanded into gymnasia and provided with endowments, and the salaries of teachers were raised.

Especial fame gathered round the Düsseldorf school, which in 1545, with the help of Duke William of Jülich,

[1] Cf. Ennen, iv. 703, 705; Paulsen, p. 270. ** For the oldest plans of study for the Jesuit gymnasium at Cologne see B. Duhr, in the *Mittheil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, viii. (1898) 130–146. Here, too (p. 137 ff.), are biographical contributions concerning the first regent of the Cologne school, P. Johann Rethius, the principal originator of the Cologne school plans.

[2] Von Bianco, i. 349, 457; ii. xv.

[3] See our remarks, vol. viii. pp. 242, 335, and vol. ix. p. 313. A. Dominicus, *Gesch. des Koblentzer Gymnasiums*. Programm, 1862.

[4] G. B. Grimme, *Gesch. des Gymnasiums zu Heiligenstadt*, Heiligenstadt, 1875, pp. 4, 7.

Cleves and Berg, was transformed into a ducal academic gymnasium with seven classes, and placed under the direction of the distinguished school-man John Monheim. There too, at any rate out of school hours and during the autumn holidays, instruction was given in such of the '*Real*' subjects as the rector approved of.[1] In its religious aspect the institute under Monheim was an actual nursery of Protestantism. In 1560 Monheim published a catechism in which he fiercely attacked the Catholic Church. Two Cologne Jesuits published in opposition, in the same year, the afterwards famous pamphlet, 'Zensur und wissenschaftliche Darlegung der Irrthümer, welche im Katechismus des Grammatikers Johann Monheim zu Düsseldorf enthalten sind.'[2] The work was dedicated to Duke William, before whose eyes it was to be demonstrated how 'Monheim, like a viper, bit his mother the Church.'[3]

[1] See Schmitz, *Fr. Marcoduranus*, pp. 9–10. ** Concerning the teaching of mathematics in the Düsseldorf school under Monheim, see also *Histor. Studien und Skizzen*, pp. 1 f., 40 f. How anxious Duke William was to have the schools properly cared for is seen from an entry in his *Landes- und Polizei Ordnung* (land and police ordinance) of 1554. 'Whereas,' it says therein, 'for the maintenance of an honourable and efficient police force, whereby order and well-being accrue to land and people, the most conducive way is to bring up the young in the reverence and fear of God, and to train them in virtue, and in useful and honourable arts, for which end the Latin schools form a most excellent beginning, we have provided for a special and great furtherance of this common need, and we herewith in all earnestness enjoin that every magistracy in the towns, boroughs and villages, where schools have been held from olden times, should see to it diligently that wherever such schools have lapsed into decay, they should be restored and brought back to an orderly, decent and satisfactory condition.' Kuhl, *Gymnasium zu Zürich*, p. 28.

[2] *Censura et docta explicatio errorum catechismi Johannis Monhemii, &c.*, Coloniae, 1560. ** On the title-page it says merely that it was published by order of the theological faculty of the Cologne University; it is now, however, established that the Cologne Jesuits, Henry Dionysius (Denys) and Francis Coster, were the publishers (*Canisii Epistulae*, ii. 721–722).

[3] *Censura*, p. 237.

But the Duke, at that time, was wavering between the old faith and the new teaching; it was not till 1574 that he sent word to the Pope that 'The school in our town of Düsseldorf has been for some time under the control of certain unworthy "regents" and schoolmasters, who in their teaching and writing are other than what is fitting; this has not been our will and pleasure; but during the last years some of them have died, and others been dismissed.'[1] At that time, however, the Düsseldorf institute, which was the principal provincial school for the duchy of Berg, was nearing that state of collapse which the later military events, especially the war brought on by the Cologne archbishop, Gebhard von Truchsess, hastened to a climax. Under Monheim († 1564), and his successor Francis Fabricius, styled Marcoduranus after his native Düren, famous also as a philologist through his chief work, the 'History of Cicero,' which procured him the title of a German Cicero, this gymnasium had greatly prospered and had numbered from 1700 to 2000 pupils.[2] Eight years after his death († 1573), in 1581, the numbers had gone down to 100. In 1594 the magistrate, in a memorandum to the ducal government, complained that 'Through the serious falling off of the Prince's school, the town and the neighbouring villages have been entirely robbed of their nutriment; the inhabitants now send their children to other schools, either native or foreign; many parents let them run idle and grow up without any education. The rector and the master of the Quarta cannot live on the small

[1] L. Keller, *Die Gegenreformation in Westfalen und am Niederrhein*, i. 207.

[2] Schmitz, *Fr. Marcoduranus*, pp. 11 ff., 48.

income they derive from the school fees and the Prince's bounty.'[1] In better times the school salaries at Düsseldorf had been by no means contemptible. In 1544 each master had received 390 florins.[2]

After the example of Düsseldorf, the old abbey school at Essen, at the instigation of the abbess and with the support of the clergy and the magistrate, was raised in 1546 to the status of a gymnasium with six classes, but it never attained real prosperity.[3]

At Neuss, in 1562, the old Latin school became an institute with four classes; the yearly stipend of the rector was raised from 100 to 120 thalers, and the school fee for each boy fixed at six albuses a month. Nevertheless there also, during the Truchsess war, ruin had already set in; the institute did not recover its standing till after the Jesuits had taken over the management in 1616.[4]

The Latin school at Jülich, which in 1572, by co-operation of the magistrate and the chapter, and with 'gracious help from Duke William and other generous-hearted friends,' was transformed into a gymnasium with six classes,[5] owned wealthy revenues, and from the time it was first founded had constantly received gifts and legacies from generous patrons—800 gold florins from a layman and his wife; from a canon 400 thalers for the school and 500 thalers to be spent on poor scholars.[6] One of its rectors was Matthew Paladanus,

[1] Nettesheim, pp. 227-228. B. Schmitz, *l.c.*

[2] Nettesheim, p. 196. [3] Nettesheim, pp. 192–194.

[4] K. Tücking, *Gesch. des Gymnasiums zu Neuss*, Neuss, 1888, pp. 13–29.

[5] Kuhl, *Gymnasium zu Jülich*, p. 34 ff.

[6] 'These were the first of a long series of contributions to this school, and, small as many of them were, they all testified to the goodwill and enthusiasm of the inhabitants for the school and for their native city. Even in the worst times of the Thirty Years' War we still find donations flowing in to the poor students.' Kuhl, pp. 76–79.

who had worked with great success at the gymnasium at Emmerich, and had been tutor to the sons of Duke William.[1]

However, in 1581, in a notification from councillors of Duke William concerning the falling off of the school, complaints already occurred of negligence on the part of rector and teachers, and insubordination among the pupils. In 1585, 'owing to the present perilous times and military risings, the young people attended in small numbers.'[2] In 1587 'the gentlemen of the council and the chapter' tried hard to persuade the Emmerich rector, Gerhard Novenius, to undertake the management of the institute. He was offered a salary such as Protestant rectors even in the largest towns seldom enjoyed—200 thalers a year, besides a bounty of ten thalers for the management of the school funds.[3]

[1] Kuhl, p. 64.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 68–73, 90 ff.

[3] Kuhl, pp. 58–59 (see *ibid.* p. 77, concerning the 'mercedes scholasticae'). The terms were certainly not to be despised at a time when 'a town-hall could be rented for fifteen thalers,' p. 60. Also in small Catholic towns on the Lower Rhine the incomes of teachers were by no means contemptible. Thus, for instance, at Kempen, in 1565, where about one hundred children attended the school, the schoolmaster, on condition of providing an assistant, received annually for rent and firing ten thalers, for various services in the church eight marks, fourteen gold florins, eight florins, three and a half thalers, three measures of rye (about twelve pecks) and eighteen albuses, a half malter of rye, and forty-seven to fifty florins in school fees. In 1580 the town granted the schoolmaster a yearly stipend of 174 marks or forty thalers, and thirty-two thalers to the under-master. At Gelders, in 1549, the yearly stipend for each of the two masters, besides the school fees, was fixed at ninety florins; later on, when the school was going down, this sum was reduced to about two-thirds. At Kalkar the head-master was allowed a vicarage, besides twenty-four florins and three to six thalers as a money gift. Nettesheim, pp. 196, 317–319, 466, 613. In other Catholic districts also we find favourable conditions as regards the pay of schoolmasters. Thus, for instance, at Meersburg the Latin schoolmaster's income in 1591 was sixty-three florins, besides eleven kreuzers as school fees from each boy at all Ember fasts, and one and

They begged in vain, however; Novenius turned his back on Germany and went to Holland; for at Emmerich also, where he had been rector in 1579, the gymnasium was in a state of complete collapse.

Down to the middle of the century the gymnasium at Emmerich[1] had maintained its old renown; and as regards the efficiency of its masters, the scope of its teaching, and the number of its pupils, it was one of the most important institutes of Germany; and it formed for the whole Lower Rhine district the chief bulwark against the encroachment of the religious innovations, and the chief seat of culture for the clergy of the district. Under Peter Homphaeus, who held the rectorship till the autumn of 1533, the number of pupils sometimes amounted to 1500; under his successor, Matthew Bredenbach, who, as teacher of the first class, had since 1524 given instruction in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the numbers occasionally rose as high as 2000. Bredenbach, equally renowned as schoolmaster and as scholar, in spite of his being a layman, gave lectures on the Holy Scriptures, and wrote Latin commentaries on the Gospel of St. Matthew and the first sixty-nine Psalms, which publications afford proof of his sound knowledge of theology, and his intimate acquaintance with classical languages and with Hebrew. His Latin work, 'Ueber die in der Kirche ausgebrochenen Streitigkeiten' ('The Dissensions that have broken out in the Church'), published in 1557, is entitled, both as to form and contents, to a distinguished place among Catholic polemics

a half measures of wine (nine ohms), and the use of a kitchen garden; also 'whatever was due to him from any foundations in the *Seelbuch* ('Book of the Departed') was to be honourably given to him. Strass, *Schulverhältnisse*, pp. 26–27.

[1] See above, p. 6.

of the period. Special importance attaches to his utterances on the rise and decline of science and of the instruction of the young. The flourishing condition of learning and study which prevailed in Germany, more than ever before, after the beginning of the century, might have brought to the Church a rich harvest of splendid fruit; but it had all been scattered and destroyed by the schisms and fierce battles between the scholars. Passionate strife, unseemly and unworthy in every branch of learning, 'is nowhere so injurious and so persistent as when it rages round Holy Scripture and the doctrines of the Church. For in other departments the fighters are only a few, or at any rate not a large number, and the rest look on amused, rejoice with the conqueror and mock the conquered; but theological dissensions, contests over religion and faith, produce heresies and schisms, and there are not only single groups of combatants pitted against each other, but the evil spreads through all phases of public life, destroys the general peace and unity, and drags kings, princes, and the whole nation into the struggle. Obscuration of truth in faith and morals, disturbance of the power and authority of those whom God has ordained as leaders and arbiters in Church matters, collapse of all discipline, must necessarily engender all those evils and abuses with which we have been heavily visited during so many unhappy years. And even now I see no end to this terrible state of things—rather, from day to day, wider and wider separation.' As for the young schoolboys and students amid the religious strife and disorder, their former good behaviour and docility had changed to ungovernableness and demoralisation. In this respect he had gone through the saddest experiences during his

thirty-two years of labour as a schoolmaster. 'I was able to compare the gentleness of those who allowed themselves to be kept under discipline, and in the faith and religion of their fathers, with the unruliness and obduracy of the others who had been puffed up by the spirit of the new religion and licentiousness, falsely regarded by them as evangelical freedom. I saw the fear of the Lord, together with piety and religion, and that queen of all the virtues, Christian love, suddenly disappear, and in their place I saw the flames of anger and hatred flare up. And while before my very eyes I saw everything sinking into barbarism, I remembered the words of the Lord: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The Catholic circle also fell a prey to corruption, and the general decay of home training became here also the chief cause of evil school conditions.' These Bredenbach painted in the same colours as did the worthiest of the Protestant schoolmen—George Fabricius, Michael Neander, Valentine Trotzendorf, Hieronymus Wolf, and others. 'The people,' he wrote, 'bring up their children so badly nowadays that it becomes obvious to the poor schoolmasters as soon as the young creatures fall into their hands that they have not got to reckon with well-behaved young people, who by study and right teaching about things divine and human can be trained into useful members of society, but with wild animals, which must be tamed not only with words and blows, but with severe punishment and deprivation of freedom.' Formerly the youths who were sent to them had been made susceptible to the Christian religion by the pious teaching of parental homes, where they had been trained

in the fear of God, in reverence for the Lord and His saints, and in deep respect for the clerical estate; and, moreover, they used to be dressed in a manner which was in keeping with their future priestly office. 'But what sort of pupils are sent to us now? Young people who have been so filled with corrupting ideas about God and holy religion in general that there is no room left in their minds for sound teaching. In their ridiculous fantastic apparel, their slashed garments, their Turkish hats and soldiers' mantles, their hair cut in soldier fashion, and their beards growing wildly, their bold, defiant glance, we see nothing else but animal coarseness and a more than pagan or Turkish godlessness. It is such young people as these that we have got to tame, and even to transform into pious clergymen.' The numbers of the students also were falling off. 'One of the worst evils which the new evangel has brought us,' Bredenbach complained to a friend, 'is, that the common people transfer the hatred with which they have been inspired against the secular clergy and the monks to students and to study itself, and would rather put their children to any other occupation than to the pursuit of learning. Hence we see that nearly all the schools in Germany have gone backwards, and their decay must necessarily bring about the decay of all learning.'

If the Emmerich gymnasium, during its thirty years under Bredenbach (1559†), counted probably an attendance of 2000 pupils, under his successor, Henry Uranius, the numbers sank to 800. At the beginning of its ninetieth year the institute, largely also owing to pestilential illnesses and to the disturbing influences of the Dutch-Spanish war, lapsed into

such a ruinous condition that only about fifty pupils attended it.[1]

Many donations and endowments, some of them considerable, bestowed on the school and the poor scholars, even in the time of its decline, bore honourable witness to the spirit of love and self-sacrifice which animated the clergy and laity alike;[2] but these did not suffice to keep the institute going. In 1593 the Jesuits, under the greatest external difficulties, undertook the management. The number of pupils, which at first had amounted to 140, increased the very next year to 300, and in 1606 to more than 400. Among the pupils there were a number of sons of Protestant parents. Further and higher development was hindered by the events of the war.[3]

The Jesuits, however, achieved greater success, in spite of all the oppression of the times, at Münster, in Westphalia, where, in 1588, the cathedral school, flourishing and renowned of old, but long since fallen into decay, came into their hands. They began their instruction there with 300 pupils, increased the number

[1] Fuller details are given in Köhler, *Rückblick*, pp. 19–48, and *Nachträge*, pp. 93–97. R. Heinrichs, *Der niederrheinische Humanist und Schulmann Matthias Bredenbach und sein Urteil über die Reformation*, Frankfurt-a.-M. 1890, pp. 1–17. When Bullinger was at Emmerich (1516–1519) 'There reigned in the school,' so he writes, 'strict discipline' (Köhler, p. 21). Fifteen years later the life of the pupils appears already somewhat disorderly. 'The three and a half years,' it says in the memoirs of Hermann von Weinsberg, of Cologne, who attended the school from 1531 to 1534, 'did not profit me at all; the freedom which the boys are allowed is much to blame for this.' During the first year, while he was under good surveillance in the Frater house, he never, he says, was flogged in school; later on he lodged with a burgher, 'in whose house,' he says, 'I had much more liberty than in the Frater house, and it did me no good.' *Buch Weinsberg*, i. 75, 78, 101.

[2] See Köhler, *Nachträge*, pp. 97–108.

[3] See our remarks, vol. ix. p. 356 f.

the following year to 900, in 1592 to over 1100, and shortly before the beginning of the Thirty Years' War to over 1300. As at Emmerich, so too here, the annual reports of the Fathers showed that Protestant pupils from Bremen and Lübeck and from Prussia came to them for instruction; in 1603 there were no less than fifteen Protestants attending the school from the town of Oldenzaal, in the Netherlands, only. With such a large number of pupils the maintenance of strict order and discipline involved great labour and trouble. Almost every year serious transgressions of one sort or another occurred: nocturnal frays, injuries and wounds, occasionally even gross and disgraceful crimes, which called now for milder, now for severer punishment. Expulsion from the institute only happened, as it appears, in cases of stubborn disobedience, or when the offenders refused to bear the penalty of flogging. As regards the subjects of instruction, besides the five masters for the humanities, three others were appointed at once (1588) for Greek and the exposition of the speeches and letters of Cicero; soon afterwards philosophical and theological lectures were also organised. By the proceeds of a yearly duty, imposed by decree of the Trent Council on the abbey and parochial clergy and the convents, and by the help of a large endowment from a suffragan bishop, they were able to start a seminary, many of the scholars of which were in turn summoned to the smaller towns of Westphalia to fill the posts of rectors to the Latin schools.[1]

[1] Fuller details in B. Sökeland, *Gesch. des Münster'schen Gymnasiums vor dem Übergange desselben an die Jesuiten* (Münster, 1826), pp. 51–83, and pp. 85–92. C. F. Krabbe, *Geschichtl. Nachrichten über die höheren Lehranstalten in Münster* (Münster 1852), pp. 95–125; see also our remarks, vol. ix. p. 357. 'The prosperity of the Münster gymnasium under the

Three years before the opening of the Jesuit gymnasium at Munich, the town gymnasium at Paderborn with 140 pupils had been handed over to the Jesuits. Towards the end of the same year there were about 300 pupils profiting by the instruction of the school, and by 1586 the numbers had risen to 400.[1] The gymnasium was gradually enlarged, and in 1614 it was raised to a university, though without a medical faculty. The new college became a chief centre for the Catholic cause in the Paderborn district.[2]

In Bavaria, before the beginning of the educational activity of the Jesuits, a new school ordinance had been already issued by Duke William IV for the German

Jesuits,' says Sökeland (p. 51), 'belongs to a period of most terrible civil discord and misery of all sorts. In the last twenty years of the sixteenth century pestilence and war competed together to fill Westphalia's cup of woe to the brim. Pestilence, recurring almost every two or three years, carried off its thousands; war raged in the Netherlands between Holland and Spain, spreading thence to Westphalia, and this country being in part without ammunition and defence, and lying a prey to the raids of the Dutch and the Spaniards, suffered almost more severely than the actual arena of the fighting.' A friend of the Jesuits Sökeland was certainly not, but he writes at p. 57: 'Delightful and comforting at any rate is the thought, amid the melancholy events of these times, that but for the Jesuits the schools in those towns would have gone completely to ruin, whereas under the Jesuits they have flourished, and their yearly attendance of pupils has risen to over 1000; and moreover it was the Jesuits who erected the buildings in which we now rejoice, and who collected the funds which still at the present day supply our educational institutes with abundant means.'

[1] See our remarks, vol. ix. p. 357, ** and Richter, *Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten*, i. (Paderborn 1892), pp. 17 ff., 22. Richter shows how the Jesuits not only strove more and more to raise their gymnasium, but how also they kept a sharp eye on the lower schools of the town. They waged continual war with the so-called 'corner-schools' (private schools), in which the children were instructed in Protestantism; success in this respect was not achieved by them until much later; see Richter, p. 56, 90, 99 f.

[2] ** Richter, pp. 127 f., 130 ff. Freisen, *Die Universität Paderborn*, Paderborn, 1898.

and the Latin schools; and in this document religion, according to the tenets of the Catholic Church, was made the basis of all the doing and learning with which education and culture were concerned. In the higher classes of the town schools the pupils, according to this enactment, were to be taught Greek and Latin grammar, and syntax. Greek and Latin authors were also to be expounded to them, but this with due discretion, so that 'the pagan babblers and fablemongers who deal with pagan fantasies, idolatry, and love-making' should not turn the pupils' young minds away from God, and make them acquainted with things which ought to be kept hidden from their tender age. When the boys had 'thoroughly' mastered grammar and syntax, they were to go on to poetry and oratory: they were to learn to make verses and to expound some subject clearly and well. Instruction in the art of reasoning (dialectics) must not be neglected, nor the art of reckoning and arithmetic in general; nevertheless, the teachers must not set the very young pupils sums and problems which were too difficult and profound for minds only just beginning to think. Among the classical writings the following were to be read: Cicero's Letters and his 'De Oratore' and 'De Officiis,' the 'Fables' of Aesop and Phaedrus (with discretion), Virgil's 'Eclogues' and 'Aeneid' (but with omission of objectionable passages), the 'Odes' of Horace and his 'De Arte Poetica.' In Greek: the Holy Gospels especially must be explained in the original text, and Herodotus, Plutarch, and the dialogues of Socrates must be studied.[1] There followed

[1] Von Freyberg, iii. 285-286. Thus the classical writers were not condemned wholesale as 'pagan babblers and fablemongers.' ** Richter, vi. 280.

no reports, however, of any fruitage of higher tuitional development; on the contrary, the Bavarian provincial ordinance of 1553 complained that 'the Latin schools in the towns and boroughs had almost ceased to exist'; the authorities were charged to take careful measures for their restoration and to appoint efficient school-men over them. Wherever there was lack of means 'provision must be made, as far as possible, from the vacant benefices, or from the brotherhoods, company-chests, and any other source from which help could be got.' [1]

Favourable reports came from some of the [illegible] schools—for instance, from those at Tegernsee and Niederaltaich, where the abbot Henry, in the course of ten years spent 8000 florins on the school and library. At Tegernsee a lay-teacher who gave instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and Latin, received free residence in the school building, board in the convent, every day a measure of wine and two loaves of bread to take home, every year a cartload of hay, half a peck of wheat, and one peck of barley, twenty florins in money, and, besides this, from each child 'which is a foreigner' eight kreuzers quarterly.[2]

At Fornbach also there was an excellent school, and the abbot there received special praise for it from Duke Albert V in 1558. 'We hold such a school,' the Duke wrote to him, 'to be a godly, good, and useful work, especially as you are right-mindedly resolved that the young shall, before all things, be instructed and educated in the fear of God and in our old and true

[1] *Bayerische Landesordnungen*, fol. 106[a].

[2] Von Freyberg, iii. 274, note. Prantl, *Zur Gesch. der Volksbildung*, p. 533.

Catholic Christian doctrine by Catholic schoolmasters.'[1] Duke Albert was altogether a most zealous promoter of higher studies in the strict Catholic sense. In a 'school ordinance of the principality of Upper and Lower Bavaria'[2] there was issued in 1569 a stern edict against the use of all 'sectarian and misleading literature, and also of all school books compiled by Protestants.' In the use of 'poets, old as well as new,' care was to be taken that the young pupils were not injuriously affected either in their morals or their religion. Hence Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' and amorous [illegible]s—Terence, Catullus, and Juvenal—were to be [illegible]uded, unless, as lately in the case of Martial, they had been purged of all objectionable passages by a Catholic; in convents and abbey schools 'no pagan poets were to be read at all.' On the masters it was enjoined as a duty that, besides instruction in languages 'for the understanding of the authors, they should also present history to the pupils from good Greek and Latin' writers. The Greek authors selected for this end were Thucydides, Plutarch, Pausanias, Herodotus, Diogenes Laertius, and Polybius; the Latin ones were Livy, Pliny, Solinus, Mela, Tacitus, Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Sallust, Justinian, Florus, Velleius Paterculus, Appianus Alexandrinus, Caesar, and Curtius. When the boys were so far advanced that they could

[1] Knöpfler, p. 179. ** At Ottobeuren, thanks to the learned humanist Ellenbog, a school was opened in 1543 which was destined to become an academy. In 1545 this school was removed to the convent of Elchingen. During the Smalcald war the Protestant troops set fire to the convent, and thus the school came to an end. S. L. Geiger, 'Ellenbog,' in the *Osterreich. Vierteljahrschr. für Kathol. Theol.* ix. (1870) 56 f.; M. Feyerabend, *Jahrbücher von Ottenbeuren* (Ottobeuren 1813), pp. 132–164.

[2] ** See Riezler, vi. 289 f.

read history by themselves with profit, they were to be introduced to the Church historians, such as Eusebius, Sozomenus, Socrates, and others, and also to other profane historians. The possession of Protestant Biblical translations was stringently forbidden; on the other hand, lovers of ecclesiastical lectures might use Dietenberger's and Eck's Germanised Bibles; and with regard to postilles, prayer-books, and hymn-books, they might consult their pastors and father-confessors. Very wise was the injunction that 'In high concerns, such as the scholars nowadays have to deal with, the young must not be led astray, but must be taught from the very first that the salvation of their souls should be sought through Christian works and godly conduct, rather than through vain babbling and much disputation.' [1]

As a pattern for the improvement of education, the Jesuit gymnasium at Munich was recommended in this school ordinance to all the Latin schools of the land as a model institute. This gymnasium was erected in 1559 by Albert V, and under such distinguished teachers as Peltan, Mengin, Stewart, and others, it had rapidly outstripped the other three Latin schools (*Poetereyen*) in Munich, which in 1560 counted 300 pupils.[2] Of these schools, one was under the control of the magistrate. Its rector, Gabriel Castner, had still in 1560 about sixty pupils, for whose benefit he issued a school ordinance which in many respects was admirable; [3] but already in the fol-

[1] Von Freyberg, iii. 289 ff. Knöpfler, pp. 190–194, and *Aktenstücke*, pp. 93–105.

[2] Knöpfler, pp. 179–180.

[3] Printed by Westenrieder, *Beiträge*, v. 214–227. Cf. Von Freyberg, iii. 286–288. Hutter, pp. 25–27. 'Eine von dem Arzte Leonhard Alber im Jahre 1562 angefertigte Schulordnung für die kleine Landstadt Wasserburg' in Kluckhohn, *Beiträge*, pp. 182–188.

lowing year he complained of a 'noticeable falling off of pupils owing to the newly erected Jesuit school.'[1] In 1563 he informed the magistrate that 'he had had no boys,' the *Poeterey* was vacated.[2] The number of Jesuit schools soon rose to 300—500; in 1587 to 600, in 1589 to 800, in 1602 to 900.[3] The internal constitution of the gymnasium, its scheme of instruction, and its class organisation are found in different plans of lessons.[4] It was a regular thing on all holy days for one of the pupils of the upper classes to give a Latin address to the students.[5] In 1574 a special professor, the Greek teacher Peter Maffelus, was appointed for the Greek language.[6] In the same year the Fathers of Albert V were instrumental in founding the 'Gregorianum,' a seminary with forty free places for poor scholars, for

[1] K. von Reinhardstöttner, 'Zur Gesch. des Jesuitendramas,' in the *Jahrb. für Münchener Gesch.* iii. 56.

[2] K. von Reinhardstöttner, 'Humanismus unter Albrecht V.' in the *Jahrbuch für Münchener Gesch.* iv. 142, note, 223; *ibid.* pp. 64–76, are fuller details about the teachers at the Munich town poetry school. ** Concerning the three Latin schools, which existed at Munich in 1560 side by side with the Jesuit school erected in 1559, see also Daisenberger, 'Zum Schulwesen Münchens im Jahre 1560,' in *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, i. (1891) 53 ff., where the information relating to the above school is quoted from the church visitation protocols of 1560. The schoolmaster of the parish of Our Lady, Magister Johannes Neblmair, had about 150 pupils, 'although the Jesuits had taken many of his boys'; the master of the parish school at St. Peter, Magister George Vaigelius, had eighty boys, 'while before the coming of the Jesuits he had many more.'

[3] Bauer, *Aus dem 'Diarium gymnasii S. J. Monacenis'* (Munich 1878), p. 11 ff.; Hutter, pp. 11–12.

[4] *Studienpläne aus den Jahren* 1569 *und* 1590, in Von Freyberg, iii 293 f. ** Concerning the Munich Jesuit gymnasium see also Riezler, iv. 566 ff.

[5] Official report of a Jesuit to Francis Borgia, Vicar-General of the Order, from Döllinger on July 1, 1565. Preserved in the Jesuit College at Exaeten in Holland.

[6] Agricola, i. 151; Hutter, p. 21.

the purpose of giving the pupils musical training.[1] To this Duke William V added fifty stipendiaries, and from 1587 devoted much thought and attention to it, even allowing the pupils to have meals from the court kitchen, both morning and evening, every day in a hall in his residence. The boarding school of St. Michael, which Albert V had erected for scholars belonging to the nobility, had so zealous a patron in William that in 1587 the numbers had mounted to 200.[2] In 1591 there was added to the gymnasium a lyceum for philosophical and theological lectures, and nine years later the first theological disputation was held. Among the professors, Matthew Mayrhofer, Adam Tanner, and Paul Laymann are specially distinguished.[3] James Bidermann, the most important dramatist of the Order, was professor of rhetoric there in the years 1600–1616.[4]

The prosperity of this school was equalled by that of the Jesuit schools at Ingolstadt, Dillingen, and Würzburg.[5] A gymnasium, richly endowed by the

[1] Fuller details occur in Stubenvoll, *Gesch. des k. Erziehungsinstitut für Studierende*, München, 1874. *Die Statuten der Anstalt* in Pachtler, i. 445–450. In 1586 an order was issued by Oliverius Manareus, inspector of the German province, to the whole body of rectors, to see to it 'ut pauperum aliquod seminarium, ubi non est, instituatur. . . .' 'Nostri tamen,' it was added, 'nullo modo eorum pecunias attrectent, et gubernatio mandetur externo alicui probatae virtutis et fidei viro.' Pachtler, i. 424. Concerning the care of the Jesuits for poor students, see the statements in B. Duhr, *Jesuitenfabeln*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904, p. 376 ff. ** Concerning the kindness shown in numbers of ways to the poor scholars in the Jesuit schools, see *ibid.* p. 375 f. Cf. the 'Leges pauperum scholasticorum collegii Augustani' in Pachtler-Duhr, iv. 236 ff., and *ibid.* 239 ff. the extracts from P. James Gretser's *Maecenas studiosorum pauperum*, Augustae Vind. 1620. Cf. also Duhr, *Studienordnung*, p. 46 f.

[2] *Jahrbuch für Münchener Gesch.* i. 425–426.

[3] Lipowsky, i. 256, and ii. 13–14, 122. Zirngiebl, pp. 275–279.

[4] We shall speak of him in the following section in connexion with the Jesuit schools.

[5] We shall treat of these later on in connexion with the universities.

Fuggers, was opened at Augsburg in 1582, and in 1589 it was expanded into a lyceum, which soon counted 500 to 600 scholars. Almost as large a number attended the Jesuit school at Fulda. At Bamberg, where the Fathers had settled in 1609 and erected a gymnasium, the supervision of thirteen town schools was made over to them. In the episcopal sees the seminaries for priests were generally combined with Jesuit colleges and placed under the direction of the Fathers. In the Austrian province of the Order also the Jesuits accomplished work of a very thoroughgoing nature in higher educational institutes.[1]

In many towns where there were no Jesuits—in the imperial town of Überlingen, for instance—attempts were made to revive the schools that had collapsed by the introduction of the Jesuit methods of instruction. At Überlingen, after the middle of the sixteenth century, a period when elsewhere there had been such frequent complaints of schools going down, the schools had maintained a most flourishing condition under the rector John Offner of Stockach (1545–1575). 'Besides many hundred pupils of the lower classes,' writes one of themselves, 'Offner often had forty or fifty boys of noble birth, also the children of counts and lords, boarding in his house; among the latter, Eitel Friedrich and Karl, Counts of Zollern.' Under later rectors, however, the school went backward; and so the magistrate, in order to restore it to prosperity,

See our remarks, vol. ix. p. 314 ff., vol. x. p. 21 ff., Zirngiebl, p. 276 ff., Paulsen, p. 262 ff. ** See also Krones, *Gesch. der Grazer Universität*, pp. 7 ff., 236 ff., 278 ff., and the same writer's 'Beiträge zur Gesch. des Jesuitenordens,' in the *Beiträge zur Kunde steiermarkischer Gesch.-Quellen*, Jahrg. xxiv. Graz, 1892.

determined in 1601 and 1602 to introduce into it the instructional methods of the Dillinger Jesuit institute.[1]

Recognition of the beneficial work of the Jesuits in the field of instruction was general among the Catholics; but this very appreciation threatened to be of great detriment to the institutes. For the more the Catholics became convinced of the great usefulness of the Jesuit schools the more urgent and vehement became everywhere the demand for such schools; while it was forgotten that an over-supply of schools, for which the young Order was by no means in a position to provide a sufficiency of efficient teachers, must bring on the Order itself nothing but vexation, not to say great disaster. Secular and ecclesiastical princes alike, instigated by the councils, exercised such strong moral coercion over the superiors of the Order that their demands were not seldom complied with, even in cases where discreet resistance would have been better. The Order, however, did not shut its eyes to the impending danger. At the general congregations, whose business it was to legislate for the Order, edicts were issued as early as 1558 and 1565 against the excessive number of colleges. The last congregation addressed a petition to the General of the Order to the effect that attention should be chiefly confined to the improvement of existing colleges which had deteriorated; and that among the new ones offered, only such should be accepted as were really important for the common welfare of the Church, and were provided with adequate means of support, and for the management of which the society

[1] B. Ziegler, 'Zur Gesch. des Schulwesens in der ehemaligen freien Reichstadt Überlingen' (*Jahresbericht der dortigen höheren Bürgerschule für das Schuljahr* 1890 *bis* 1891), pp. 8–11.

could supply rectors and masters experienced in life and learning. It was deemed essential that philological and pedagogic seminaries should be erected in each province for the training of an efficient body of teachers.[1] When in 1573 the election of a new General was to take place, the general congregation enjoined on its delegates 'to bear in mind that the candidate chosen must not be eager for the multiplication of new seminaries, boarding schools, and colleges; for, if so, he would overtax the resources of the society.' Eberhard Mercurian, who was the successful candidate, was forthwith earnestly requested to abide strictly by the decree of 1565.[2] Three years later the South German province of the Order acknowledged frankly that the professors were either men completely worn out with long service, or else newly fledged teachers quite unfit for their work.[3]

The school ordinance of 1599, which was raised to the position of a generally binding law, brought about comprehensive reforms.[4] In this document it was decreed as follows: 'In order to preserve the knowledge of

[1] Pachtler, i. 70–75. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 70–77.

[3] '. . . . quod professores ipsi vel jam fracti sint laboribus, vel novitii et imparati.' Pachtler, i. 282–283. ** Concerning the memorandum of the Jesuit P. Pontanus, which Janssen makes use of in the earlier edition, see now Bremer, 'Das Gutachten des P. Jakob Pontan über die humanistischen Studien in den deutschen Jesuiten-schulen (1593)' in the *Innsbruck Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol.* 1904, pp. 621–631. Exhaustive information is here given concerning this document, till then known only from extracts, and it is shown that Janssen was right to withhold a final judgment on it, so long as the document was not known in its entirety.

[4] Pachtler, ii. 225–481. Paulsen expresses himself on the subject in an unprejudiced manner (p. 285): 'The aim of Jesuit instruction is thoroughly well described by the formula of Sturm [see above, pp. 110, 112], "eloquens et sapiens pietas." With the Jesuits also, Ciceronian eloquence is the immediate object; to this the *studia inferiora*, the actual school course, lead up. The *studia superiora*, the philosophical and theological

the classical languages and, as it were, form a nursery of teachers, every provincial shall choose out men distinguished in these branches of learning, who shall devote themselves to the work of training up good teachers for the future. The provincials shall also, as far as possible, procure permanent teachers of grammar and rhetoric, and shall require of well-qualified associates of the Order to sacrifice themselves to this sacred calling.' In order that a sufficient supply of books should never be wanting, the provincials were enjoined either to draw on the revenues of the colleges or to institute a yearly tax for enlargement of the library, and on no account to spend this money in any other way. In order that the young teachers of the lower classes should not enter on their office without any practical training, the rector of the college whence the teachers of the humanities and of grammar were usually taken was charged to select a very experienced schoolman, and to arrange that the future teachers, towards the end of their term of study, should go to him three times a week for an hour for practice in reading, dicta-

course, supply the philosophical and scientific knowledge. Finally, the promotion of pious conduct and right faith is the ultimate goal of all education.' If complaints have been manifold (cf. Bursian, p. 221; Von Raumer, i. 270 ff.; Kluckhohn in Von Sybel's *Zeitschr.* xxxi. 343 ff.) concerning the soulless formalism of the Jesuits, it must in fairness be said that sufficient distinction has not been made between the rules and regulations which entered into the minutest details, and their realisation in practice; and still less has account been taken of the spirit of individual effort and activity which the Jesuits demanded from their pupils.

** Concerning the anterior history of the school ordinance of 1599, which, with a few additions made in 1616, remained in force until the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, see Duhr, *Studienordnung*, pp. 16–21. *Ibid.* pp. 178–280, a German translation of the curriculum of 1599, an improved version of the Pachtler translation, with a statement of the deviations in the new curriculum of 1832.

tion, writing, correcting, and other work in which they ought to be trained for their future posts.[1]

As regards the subject-matter of instruction, the prefect of studies was to see that the five stages of the lower classes—viz. rhetoric and humanities and the three grammar classes—did not get mixed up together.[2]

Of the Latin classics which were to be expounded in the humanities class, the following were prescribed: 'Among the orators, exclusively Cicero, and, moreover, generally his moral philosophical writings; among historians, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius; among poets, Virgil, with the exception of some of his "Eclogues" and the fourth book of the "Aeneid," and besides this a selection from the "Odes" of Horace; further, elegies, epigrams, and other poems of distinguished poets, only they must be purged from all impurities.' 'Rhetoric' must include 'the rules of the art of oratory, style, and scholarly knowledge. For the rules of eloquence, the rhetorical writings of Cicero; and, if the teacher liked, also the works on rhetoric and poetry of Aristotle should be expounded in the daily readings. 'Style must be taught almost exclusively from Cicero, although the best historians and poets might also be used to some extent. Erudition, the knowledge that makes a "scholar," must be taken from history and the habits of nations, from the most approved authors, and from every kind of learned writing, but with due regard to the mental grasp of the pupils and with wise moderation.' In Greek, only the ancient classics, orators, historians, or poets must be expounded, such as Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod,

[1] Pachtler, ii. 259, 261, 263, 271. ** Duhr, *Studienordnung*, p. 191.
[2] Pachtler, ii. 353. ** Duhr, p. 222.

Pindar, and so forth, and these only from expurgated editions. Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil and Chrysostom might rightly be counted among the classical writers.' [1]

Compulsory instruction in the mother-tongue was not included; but the current accusation that 'the mother-tongue, and especially the German one, was neglected, indeed suppressed, in the colleges of the Society of Jesus is altogether unjustifiable. The 'Ratio Studiorum' of 1599 does certainly insist on Latin being talked by the pupils within the gymnasium; but it excepts those school classes in which the pupils do not yet know any Latin—*i.e.* the lowest and the middle gymnasial classes, which means, counting the *parva*, classes extending over three whole years, so that the injunction begins only with the syntax and is fully enforced in the classes of Poetry and Rhetoric. Moreover, the mother-tongue receives its rightful share of attention in the exposition of authors: the ancient authors, at the end of the course, are to be translated into the vulgar tongue. In the syntax, or *suprema grammatica*, the translation of classical authors into the mother-tongue is one of the class exercises; in the mother-tongue the *Pensa* are dictated and written; part of the 'concertations' consists in translating modes of expression and sentences straight off and

[1] Pachtler, ii. 400–401, 415. ** Duhr, pp. 243, 245, 247, 249. The five-year gymnasial curriculum of 1604 for the South German Province, in which the authors to be read in the different classes during each of the five years are catalogued ('Catalogus librorum quinto quoque anno recurrens'). is published by Duhr in Pachtler, iv. 1–17. *Ibid.* see 'Catalogus perpetuus,' composed for the gymnasia of the Rhine province on the model of the South German catalogue. In the first edition of 1662 'the lesson-books and authors to be studied were only fixed for three years running; a second edition of 1628 arranged the course of study for six years.' *Ibid.* p. 24.

in different ways from the mother-tongue into Latin. The reproach of contempt of the German language is much more justly deserved by many of the opponents of the Jesuits.[1]

The whole scope of instruction, both in the lower and the higher schools, at the gymnasium, the lyceum, and the university, aimed not only at knowing, but at doing, at transforming knowledge into action. To this end all the prescribed school exercises, repetitions, lectures, disputations, and 'concertations' were designed. 'One single disputation' (this was the principle) 'was worth more than a whole course of lectures, for in disputation there was more exercise of the

[1] ** Duhr, *Studienordnung*, p. 107 f. Concerning the teaching of history at the Jesuit gymnasia, Duhr says (Pachtler, iv. 105 f.): 'The fourth part of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus makes history belong to the course of rhetoric (*Ratio Stud.* i. 54); the plan of study of 1586 places it under the humanities (*ibid.* ii. 193), but in the final curriculum of 1599 history is only regarded as a means of erudition (*ibid.* ii. 400). At the earlier Jesuit schools it was attempted to supplement this want in a twofold manner. First, by strong emphasis of the erudition above-mentioned—*i.e.* that in the reading of the classical authors not only history proper but also the auxiliary sciences must be considered. Secondly, attempt was made to awaken interest in history, and to encourage a more comprehensive study of it, by means of numerous historical pamphlets, which were distributed gratis among the pupils in connexion with the ceremony of bestowing degrees and other festive occasions. The mere fact that a gymnasiast, or student eager for knowledge, had such books given to him for his own, must have been a stimulus to reading and a very practical way of promoting study. In many of the gymnasia later compendiums of history were added to the classical historians of the ancients. Thus, for instance, the *Catalogus perpetuus* of the Rhenish province of the year 1622, in view of the importance of history, adds to the list of books which are to be read for the humanities a later historical compendium by Tursellin, distinguished by the excellence of its style.' (This said compendium, *Horatii Tursellini e S. J. Historiarum ab origine mundi usque ad annum* 1598 *Epitome*, Romae, 1598, 'was much used in Germany'; a number of improved editions of the work appeared in Germany in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see Pachtler-Duhr, iv. 106); see also Duhr, *Studienordnung*, p. 104 ff.

mind than in listening to lectures, and the obscuring difficulties were better cleared up.' Even in the five lower classes, 'for the vigorous pursuit of scholarly exercises academies were to be formed in which to carry on lectures, disputations, and other exercises such as were in vogue among stalwart scholars.' For the lay scholars prizes were to be fixed and 'the written competition, prose and verse, distributed over different days; thus one day was fixed for Latin prose and another for verse, and the same with Greek prose and verse.' In rhetoric and the humanities 'every other Saturday there was a lecture, consisting of Greek or Latin speech, or a poetical declamation, to which one school was invited by the other.' [1]

To the category of school exercises belonged also, as in many humanistic schools at the close of the Middle Ages, and also in the Protestant schools, the performance of dramatic pieces, either in the school quarters or in public before the people.

[1] Pachtler, ii. 291, 365, 375, 393. ** Duhr, pp. 79 f., 200 f., 228 f., 232–234, 240. Concerning the inadequate description of the educational system of the Jesuits since 1600, given by E. von Sallwürk in Schmid's *Gesch. der Erziehung*, v. 2, 176 f., cf. *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, cxxix. 232 ff.

CHAPTER V

SCHOOL DRAMA AMONG PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS

Even in the schools of the older humanists Terence and Plautus played no insubordinate part. Thus, for instance, at the Strassburg educational institutes, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, all the plays of the former, and four or five of the more decent ones of the latter, had already obtained admittance. It was Erasmus who was most urgent in recommending the reading of Terence in schools;[1] while James Wimpheling, 'the teacher of Germany,' on grounds of morality, wished Terence far removed from the hands of schoolboys.[2] Melanchthon's opinion was that 'scarcely any author was worthier to be put into all hands than Terence.' This writer stood far higher than Aristophanes, 'first, because his pieces were free from obscenities; and, secondly, because they were more rhetorical.' 'Therefore,' he wrote, 'I advise all educationists to recommend this writer urgently to the study of the young, for he appears to me better adapted than most philosophical writers to form in the young a right judgment of the world. And no other author teaches greater purity of expression, none accustom the boys to a method of speech which can stand them in such good

[1] See Francke, p. 8.

[2] Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, p. 31, note 3.

stead.'[1] Melanchthon caused plays by Terence and also by Plautus and Seneca to be acted at Wittenberg by the students. When Luther was once asked if the performances of Terence were permissible, because 'many people objected to them on the ground that such theatrical stuff from heathen poets was not fitting for Christians,' he answered: 'The acting of comedies must not be forbidden in schools on account of the boys, but allowed and encouraged, first, that they may have practice in the Latin language; secondly, because the characters in the plays are artistically constructed, painted, and represented so that the people may be instructed by them, and that each one may see his own office and station depicted, and may be thereby reminded and admonished how he himself should conduct himself in his particular position.' 'Christians must not altogether shun comedies because, now and then, coarse jokes and love scenes occur in them; for on that account they could not dare to read the Bible either.'[2]

In the Protestant school ordinances the reading of Terence and of some of the plays of Plautus was early recommended—namely, in 1522 in the school ordinance for Nördlingen, in 1523 for Zwickau, 1525 for Eisleben, 1526 for Nuremberg; at Nördlingen the rector was directed, 'in the first session, in the afternoon, to expound Terence.' At Zwickau, in the third class, all the plays of Terence and some of those of Plautus were to be learnt by heart.[3] The school ordinance of

[1] *Corp. Reform.* i. 772; cf. Von Raumer, i. 213, ** and Raché, *Deutsche Schulkomödie*, p. 11.

[2] Luther's *Table-talk*, published by Förstemann und Bindfeil, iv. 592–593. See Holstein, pp. 19–20 ** and Raché, pp. 8–10.

[3] Holstein, pp. 33–35.

the Saxon Electorate, planned by Melanchthon and sanctioned by Luther (1528), decreed that, 'when the children have learnt Aesop, they are to go on to Terence, which they are to learn by heart. After Terence the schoolmaster shall put the children on to some of the fables of Plautus, those which are pure'; among these 'pure' fables Melanchthon included the 'Aulularia,' the 'Trinummus,' and the 'Pseudolus,' although they all three contain doubtful enough matter. Later school ordinances, such as that of Güstrow in 1552, that of Magdeburg in 1553, that of Brandenburg in 1564, and that of Breslau in 1570, insist not only on the reading and memorising of Terence, but also on the performance of his plays.[1]

'There shall also,' it says in the Güstrow ordinance, 'be acted every half-year one Latin comedy from Plautus or Terence, by the pupils in the school, so that the boys may learn good Latin.'[2] The Breslau ordinance considered such exercises good, 'not only because the boys learnt good pronunciation and gestures by this means, and good manners and morals were formed in them, but also because, as we who have taught long years in schools know from experience, those boys whom neither words nor rod could induce to study have been so roused and excited by the lively action of the characters in plays, that they have acquired quite a liking for study.'[3] According to the Nordhäusen school ordinance, 'the rector, with the schoolboys, in honour of the burghers and the whole town,' were every year at carnival to act a Latin comedy from Terence, and

[1] Vormbaum, i. 417 ff., 541; Raché, pp. 12–14.
[2] Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, p. 37.
[3] Vormbaum, i. 198 ff.

sometimes a German one as well.' [1] It was the heart's desire of George Rollenhagen, since 1567 pro-rector of the school at Magdeburg, and the aim of all his labours, that 'Terence should stick like tar to the hands of the schoolboys.' 'We have always,' he wrote, in 1592, 'read Terence in our schools, and also learnt him by heart, and so often acted his plays on holiday afternoons that now nearly the whole school have him at their fingers' ends, and when called upon can recite or act to perfection any play that may be chosen.' [2]

Rollenhagen followed the example of the Strassburg rector, John Sturm, who went so far in his zeal for the performance of old plays that he insisted that 'at Strassburg the school theatre, a stationary stage erected in the school-yard, should not remain a week unused.' 'All the plays of Plautus and Terence should, if possible, be performed during a half-year.' In 1565 Sturm had printed for school use six of the comedies of Plautus, among others the 'Amphitruo,' in which such criminal

[1] Vormbaum, p. 382. At Zwickau, as early as 1518, during a tournament before the Duke John and his court, the *Eunuchus* of Terence was well and properly played, and moreover by the council school of which Stephen Roth was rector. 'Between the acts,' according to the report of a chronicler, 'there was an interlude representing seven women and one man quarrelling, and also how seven peasants had married one maid, and all this was well and smartly acted in rhyme. A numerous gathering of princes, counts and lords attended this festive performance.' Holstein, pp. 32–33. From these examples it is sufficiently evident how the Roman play-writers worked on people who were wanting in moral and aesthetic culture, and how pernicious must have been the influence of an educational agency of this sort in an age which was ever more and more driven from the path of peaceful development by politico-religious disturbance, internal wars, and scurrilous literature of all sorts.

[2] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 508, note 2. Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, p. 33. At Öls and Göttingen also plays of Terence and Plautus were performed. Von Raumer, *Gesch. der Pädagogik*, ii. 100.

sport is made with the virtue of the faithful and noble Alcmene. In a dedicatory preface he endeavoured to overthrow the objection that representations of the old plays might have a demoralising influence. Terence, he asserted, had abstained from all indecent jesting; in Plautus, one certainly did here and there come upon very dirty things, but there were also more respectable pieces. From time to time plays of Terence were acted even in the sixth and fifth classes, and in the fourth and third Plautus, and actually Aristophanes, were to be practised.[1]

In the Catholic towns also, before the time of the Jesuits, plays of Plautus were now and then acted in public by schoolboys—for instance, by those of the town 'poet school' at Munich, in the years 1557, 1562,

[1] Von Raumer, i. 270 ff.; Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii^{b}. 322 ff., 336, 363 ff.; Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, pp. 24, 38. 'It was quite wrong,' Sturm said, 'to scent moral corruption in these plays—namely, in the 'molles meretricum gesticulationes, parasitorum et lenonum sales spurci.' Von Raumer (i.272) says on the other hand: 'It seems to us incredible that this fashion of learning by heart and performing such immoral plays as those of Terence can be without evil influence on the morals of the young, and equally incomprehensible it is to us that so religious a man as Sturm should have no objection to Terence, and should not consider him altogether misleading. If the mere reading of such a writer as Terence is pernicious, how much more so must it be for the pupils to think themselves and throw themselves into the characters and the situations of the plays, as they must perforce do when acting them!' 'At the Strassburg examination in 1578, the theologian Marbach preached a school sermon, which has been preserved. In it he inveighs against "the mad parents" who allow their children to read and to act the Dannhüser (Tannhäuser), the Melusina, Dietrich of Berne, the old Hiltenbrand, Knight of Styria—by doing which they give their young ones incitement to evil thoughts.' In another place he warns the schoolboys to devote themselves solely to good books and to have nothing to do with 'amorous books in which there is nothing but obscenity, buffoonery, Merlin, and other fabulous stuff.' All this he said to the very schoolboys who, on the occasion of the examination, performed the *Phormio* of Terence and the *Clouds* of Aristophanes.

and 1566, 'at the council hall, for the edification of an honourable council.'[1]

When serious school-men raised their voices in protest at boys taking the parts of public prostitutes, the Marburg professor, Rudolf Goclenius, defended the abuse as something quite right and reasonable. 'It is not unseemly for men,' he wrote, in 1604, 'to impersonate public women, when the object is to show up the vices of these women; it is only indecorous to put on the habits, not the clothes, of a prostitute.'[2] As if the boys had already been men, as if they could have learnt and acted such parts without injury, if not shipwreck, to their innocence. From the Latin school at Memmingen, whence Terence had been banished, Antony Christopher Hörmann, of Augsburg, wrote to his grandfather in 1589: 'Even if Terence, as you say, contains much that is charming, there is much in him also that is very filthy and scandalous, so that he helps more to the corruption than to the implanting and building up of good morals.'[3]

[1] Cf. K. Trautmann in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, i. (1891) 62, 63; Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, p. 37. Concerning performances of the plays of Terence at Hammelburg in 1572 and 1574 see the *Archiv für Unterfranken*, iv. 457, ** for those at Ratisbon see Riezler, vi. 323. See also M. Herrmann, 'Terenz in Deutschland bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts,' in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, iii. (1893) 1-28.

[2] 'Non est indecorum, virum repraesentare meretriculam, si id eo fiat, ut vitia meretriculae depingantur; nec monstrum est vestes, sed mores scorti induere.' 'So lightly,' says Goedeke, 'did they come to terms with this custom,' &c., &c. Goedeke, *Römoldt*, p. 395; cf. Holstein, p. 44.

[3] *Zeitschr. des Histor. Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, i. 154. At the Düsseldorf gymnasium, under the rector Monheim (see above, p. 141), 'for the purpose of promoting skilled and confident speaking, tragedies and "respectable" comedies were occasionally acted: a wise limitation, which was certainly not carried out with regard to the reading of Terence.' Schmitz, *Franciscus Fabricius*, pp. 10, 11.

Terence and Plautus had a decided opponent in Schonaeus, rector of the school at Harlem († 1611). In order to get Terence out of the hands of schoolboys he published, in 1591, his 'Terentius Christianus' (reprinted later in an enlarged form), which was an attempt to reproduce the Latin forms of the poet in a series of Biblical dramas (Naaman, Tobias, Nehemiah, Saul, Joseph, Judith, Susanna, Daniel, and others); he also subjected a few comedies ('Pseudostratiota,' 'Cunae,' 'Vitulus') to the same process. These pieces gained entrance into the schools; 'Saul,' for instance, was performed at Annaberg in 1583, and 'Tobias' at Strassburg in 1585. The diction is easy and fluent, but the substance mostly barren, and in the secular pieces, by no means free from indecencies, vulgarities, and coarseness of the worst kind.[1]

The new-Latin school drama to which Schonaeus devoted his energies had already developed in Germany at an early period on the model of Terence. Reuchlin, its nominal creator, earned the renown, through his 'Hemo' and 'Sergius,' of having awakened ancient comedy to a new life; his immediate successors were

[1] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 143, No. 66. Holstein, pp. 64–65, 92, 108. Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, pp. 26–27, 34. Francke, pp. 57, 70–78, 126–127. 'The Biblical dramas,' says the latter, 'are mostly *fade* productions, overlaid with Christian flourishes of rhetoric.' 'Of violations of aesthetic requirements I will not attempt to speak at length. . . .' Schonaeus 'invented scenes which in low vulgarity leave nothing over to be desired, such as the two brothel scenes . . . in comparison to which Terence figures as the picture of innocence. . . .' Obscenities of this sort also occur in no inconsiderable number in other pieces by Schonaeus (pp. 74, 127). 'Illusion and magic,' according to Schonaeus, 'are indispensable in the process of Christianising' (p. 76). In his *Vitulus* a drunken peasant is sewn up in a calf-skin and sold as a calf; the slaughterer thinks he is possessed, a parson exorcises him, and so forth.' Goedeke, *Grundriss*. See Rachó, *Deutsche Schulkomödie*, p. 26.

Conrad Celtes, James Locher, Christopher Hegendorfinus, and others.[1] Later on two Netherlanders, the Protestant William Gnapheus († 1568), and the Catholic George Macropedius († 1558), became the chief representatives of the Latin school drama, both as regards Biblical and secular treatment. Of the four plays of Gnapheus, the Acolastus, or 'The Prodigal Son,' had the most influence;[2] of the fifteen plays of George Macropedius, the 'Asotus,' which also dealt with the parable of the Prodigal Son, the 'Joseph,' and the 'Hecastus' had the widest circulation, and were also extensively imitated by other poets. As Macropedius was altogether the most important new-Latin dramatist, the 'Hecastus,' an allegorical drama, 'in which every man might see as in a mirror how, after true penitence for his sins, he attains through Christ to a happy and joyous death,' belongs especially, both in form and substance, to the most distinguished dramas of the sixteenth century. It was first performed in 1538 by the schoolboys at Utrecht; later on it was repeatedly produced on the stage, in German also, at Nuremberg, Annaberg, and elsewhere. In the preface to a Utrecht edition of 1552 the author spoke out

[1] See Francke, p. 63 ff. Locher's *Ludicrum drama*, and the *Comoedia Nova* of Hegendorfinus, an imitation of the *Hecyra* of Terence (1520), 'are very unpleasing productions of the much-praised Renaissance culture (p. 124); cf. p. 62, concerning Locher's drama, also Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, pp. 240–246. Before the year 1485 John Kerkmeister, *gymnasiarcha monasteriensis*, had already written a Latin school comedy, *Codrus*. Cf. J. B. Nordhoff, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Münsterischen Humanismus*, Münster, 1874, pp. 73 ff.

[2] Cf. ** Spengler, *Der verlorene Sohn im Drama des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, p. 17 ff., and *Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des* 15. *u.* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, published by M. Herrmann and S. Szamatólski, 1; *Gulielmus Gnapheus Acolastus*, published by Joh. Bolte, Berlin, 1891; here, too (Introduction, p. xi), the literature on Gnapheus' life is epitomised.

more fully concerning his Catholic faith, and declared it to be 'a crime to depart from the unity of the Church and of orthodoxy.'[1]

The play 'Joseph,' by the Dutchman Cornelius Crocus, so highly distinguished for its artistic treatment, became a model for numbers of dramatists; for instance, the Protestant poets Thiebolt Gart and Hans von Rüte. Crocus, too, was a Catholic, and died a Jesuit in 1550, at Rome.[2]

Several striking new-Latin dramatists, notably George Calamnius and Caspar Brülow, worked for the academic theatre at Strassburg, which gained one of the foremost positions on Protestant stages. In its representations, in imitation of the Jesuit plays, it not seldom displayed great magnificence of external appliances, and attracted numerous foreign visitors, among them some of princely rank.[3]

[1] Holstein, pp. 54–58, 161–162; Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 132, No. 5, 135, No. 13, where it is said of Macropedius: 'The most distinguished Latin dramatist of the sixteenth century; rich in fancy, happy in presentation; style light and easy, yet by no means wanting in force and expressiveness.' Cf. D. Jacoby's *G. Macropedius. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Programm des Königstädtischen Gymnasiums* (Berlin, 1886), and Spengler, *l.c.* 37 ff., where there are fuller details concerning some scenes in *Asotus* of a more or less coarse and improper nature. See Macropedius, *Rebelles und Aluta*, published by J. Bolte, Berlin, 1897.

[2] See our remarks, vol. xii. p. 25. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, p. 134, No. 7, where, at pp. 132–146, the works of 100 writers of Latin schoolplays, mostly on Catholic themes, are catalogued. The majority of these plays show how unfavourably the one-sided imitation of Latin comedy, in which they originated, worked on the general taste. In Goedeke's catalogue there is missing. A. F. Leodii *Religio patiens. Tragoedia, qua nostri seculi calamitates deplorantur, et principes causae, quibus misere nunc affligitur Christi ecclesia, reteguntur. Ad Pium Quintum Pontificem Maximum. Coloniae ap. Maternum Cholinum MDLXVI.*

[3] Fuller details in A. Jundt, *Die dramatischen Aufführungen im Gymnasium zu Strassburg*; cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 551, §171. Holstein,

The Latin dramas of the Protestant Suabian poet and school-man Nicodemus Frischlin († 1590) were frequently acted in schools, and some of them translated into various languages. From his own co-religionists he got much blame because, even in his Biblical pieces, such as 'Rebecca' (1576), 'Susanna' (1577), he not seldom catered for the coarse taste of his time, by introducing his comic scenes with drunkards, avaricious lawyers, deceitful hosts, &c., &c., and caused them to be acted repeatedly by young students before the assembled court. The Tübingen professor Crusius rejected these pieces on account of their indecencies, which he considered demoralising to the young. Others also were of opinion that 'in sacred plays no wanton characters should appear, but only respectable people who would serve as examples for the young.' Frischlin, however, justified himself by saying that even in the Holy Scriptures 'wastrels, drunkards, and criminals were represented, in order that their example might incite us to better conduct.' [1] In a play acted at Tübingen, in 1578, in the presence of the court,[2] Frischlin ridiculed the kitchen-Latin, as well as the

pp. 59–60. ** *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas und seiner volkstümlichen Ableger im 16. Jahrhundert*, by P. Expeditus Schmidt, Berlin, 1903. The Jesuit drama is not included here 'because it requires special treatment.'

[1] Strauss, pp. 106–115. Strauss acknowledges, apart even from the obscenities, that some of the conversations in these pieces 'were antagonistic to the object of the school drama, and that from the aesthetic point of view also they would have been better left out' (p. 115). The play *Rebecca* was very often performed in 1589 by the pupils at Smalcald, the *Susanna* in 1615 by those at Annaberg: cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 364, No. 169[a], 366, No. 183. At Memmingen they were adopted in the school in place of Terence; cf. *Zeitschr. des Histor. Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, i. 154.

[2] *Priscianus vapulans.*

emptiness, ignorance, and charlatanry of puffed-up learning.

> A piece quite other than the rest:
> Here comes no bawdy parasite in view,
> No savage Ishmael, no jealous husband,
> No doting grey-beard. Yet I vow
> 'Twill make you laugh; only listen graciously.[1]

On the other hand he lavished the most extravagant encomiums on the German-Latin world of scholars and the poets, most of them unknown to-day, in a piece composed 'in praise of Germany,' which also appeared on the stage at Tübingen in 1582 and 1587, and at Halle in 1592.[2] The Roman authors Caesar and Cicero, who have risen from the dead, travel through Germany in search of the most beautiful towns, and they are full of wonder at the German firearms and arsenals, at the printing establishments, and all the arts of peace. The physicians are all Hippocrateses, the Jurists Labeos, the orators Cicero himself compares with himself—in short, Athens seems to him to have wandered over to Germany; he could swear that

> All the mountains of the German land
> Parnassuses and Helicons must be,
> And all their springs Hippocrenes. . . .

The piece contains lengthy and far from dramatic descriptions of the German firearms, paper manufactories, and printing presses. The highest glory of the Germans, however, is that they can make Latin, and even Greek, verses. But Frischlin prided himself on nothing so much in this comedy as that all that he makes Cicero say is compiled from Cicero, and all that Caesar says from the words and phrases in his

[1] Strauss, pp. 122–125. [2] *Julius redivivus.*

Commentaries. But Mercury, under whose guidance Caesar and Cicero pursue their travels, supplements in his prologue what the poet has passed over :—

> For daily to the underworld there come
> People from this Germany, whose like
> Caesar, in his day to have beheld,
> Cannot remember. The Stygian swamp
> To quenching of their thirst doth not suffice,
> So largely do they swill, with inward fire
> Consumed, from drinking too much wine.
> But of all this no mention's in the story,
> Which is but written for Germania's glory.[1]

Germany's glory is certainly not enhanced by the descriptions given in two school comedies of student life, and the glimpse which they open up into a world of nauseous depravity : these plays are the 'Studentes,' a play on the model of Terence, written in 1545, by the student, Christopher Stymmel, of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and 'Cornelius Relegatus' (first published in 1600, and afterwards reprinted), by Albert Wichgrew, of Hamburg, later on school rector at Pritzwalk, in Brandenburg, and finally preacher in the neighbourhood of Hamburg. Stymmel places side by side with a diligent student two others who squander all they possess, the one with women, the other on wine. Melanchthon, 'to the immense delight of the learned,' had this piece performed twice at Wittenberg; the enthusiasm with which it was received is evidenced by the fact that there are still twenty-one editions of it extant.[2] 'Cornelius Relegatus,' which is truly repulsive in its descriptions, was first performed in 1600 by the students at Rostock, and in 1605 it was translated for the German stage by the preacher, John Sommer.

[1] Strauss, pp. 130–142. [2] Holstein, pp. 28–29, 64.

'This Cornelius,' he says, 'with his carousing, gambling, storming, and spooning, and with his young Corneliolus . . . is presented in public for all to see, not in order to teach young scholars when they leave school and go to the universities to abuse their privileges and liberty in drinking, gambling, dice and profligacy, but to warn them to be most carefully on their guard against all these vices.' [1]

It is difficult, however, to see how this object could be attained by a play of this sort, or by another equally repulsive one, the 'Amantes amentes,' acted by the gymnasiasts at Brieg, in 1617, and described as 'a very delightful play about blind love, or, as it is called in German, *Leffelei*, in which is put into good Saxon rhyme everything concerning the present-day smitten Venus-soldiers.' This piece also, composed by Gabriel Rollenhagen, a son of the Magdeburg pro-rector, George Rollenhagen, gained great popularity, and remained in vogue till 1618, appearing in six different editions, the last of which was printed at Cöln-on-the-Spree, and 'enlarged with rhymes for singing.' [2]

To the list of the pieces also acted at the gymnasium at Brieg,[3] and undoubtedly at other schools as well, belonged, further, the comedy of 'Hans Pfriem or Meister Kecks,' which Martin Hayneccius, rector of the Martin school at Brunswick, and tutor of the Prince's school at Grimma, published repeatedly in Latin and in Greek, 'for the benefit of the Christian schools.' [4] It overflows with coarsenesses and abusive

[1] Fuller details about this piece are given in vol. xii. p. 151 ff.

[2] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 375, No. 239[a]. H. Palm, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen Literatur*, p. 123. See our remarks, vol. xii. p. 181 f.

[3] Palm, p. 124.

[4] Goedeke, *l.c.* 368.

language, and could not possibly conduce to the reform of such demoralised young fellows as Hayneccius himself has described in his play, the 'Schulteufel' ('School Devil'), 1603.[1]

It was not without reason that Paul Praetorius, rector at the school of St. Sebald, at Nuremberg, entertained grave fears for the influence of certain dramatic representations on the morals of the schoolboys. 'The ungovernable self-will of the young,' he said, in his lesson plan of December 11, 1574, 'was indeed universal, but it was constantly receiving fresh nourishment from the wanton German plays which were performed frequently at Nuremberg.'[2]

That the performance of plays in the German tongue could be of any use to the Latin schools was strongly contested by numbers of school-men and preachers. Only Latin plays, 'especially those of Terence,' said John Gigas, for a time rector at Schulpforta, 'should be acted'; German plays he commended to German brothers and artisans.[3] At Ulm, on August 16, 1585, all the preachers and all the school colleges declared, in opposition to the rector Martin Balticus, that 'It is very doubtful whether the boys who are principally being educated in Latin should be burdened with German plays, over which they are obliged to spend much time and study.'[4]

[1] Fuller details about these plays are given in vol. xii. 31–34, 146–148.

[2] Holstein, pp. 41–42. ** Concerning the objectionable elements of the German plays of that period, Raché remarks (p. 26): 'The sexual relations are treated with a startling want of reserve, and in order to warn schoolboys against the consequences of a life of debauchery, writers have no scruple in presenting such a life to them on the stage in unveiled hideousness.'

[3] *Zwo Predigten, &c. Zweete Predigt*, Bl. H.]

[4] Weyermann, i. 37.

At Munich, where, in addition to the dramatic performances of the Jesuits' pupils,[1] plays, mostly on Biblical subjects, were often given by the leaders of the town schools in the council house, Oswald Stadler, schoolmaster at St. Peter's, received, in 1599, the injunction from the magistrate that 'henceforth he would not be allowed to have any German play performed, but only Latin plays, in order that the young might be benefited by the acting.'[2] As at Munich, so also in the Catholic schools at Überlingen, the acting of German plays ceased at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[3]

At Mecklenburg, the Güstrow school ordinance of 1552 laid down the general rule that 'German comedies and tragedies were not to be acted before the common people or by schoolboys, except with special permission and at the discretion of the Duke.'[4]

On the other hand the Nordhäusen school ordinance of 1583 decreed, once for all, that every year, in addition to a play from Terence, a German play was also to be performed before the burghers.[5] In the school at Magdeburg it became the custom to have a German play performed annually, first in the council hall, before the assembled council, and then 'under the open sky,' in order that 'everybody, learned and unlearned,

[1] See below, p. 203.

[2] K. Trautmann in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgesch.* i. 66. Trautmann here (pp. 61-68) gives from the Munich town archives careful entries of the plays acted at the town schools from 1549 to 1681. Concerning the Munich school dramatist, Hieronymus Ziegler, see our remarks, vol. xii. p. 9 f., and for the Viennese Wolfgang Schmeltzl, who had seven Biblical plays in the German language performed by his schoolboys, p. 12 f.

[3] Ziegler, p. 10.

[4] Von Reinhardstöttner, *Plautus*, p. 37.

[5] Vormbaum, i. 382.

burghers, peasants, and all men might see the proficiency, growth, and development of the school, and that all parents might be encouraged to keep their boys at school.'

It was to this effect that John Baumgart, preacher at the Church of the Holy Ghost at Magdeburg, and member of the town school committee, expressed himself, in 1561, in the preface to his play 'Das Gericht Salomonis' ('The Judgment of Solomon'), which he had written at the request of the rector Siegfried Sark, who had it performed by his school. This play, as, indeed, all school dramas, was written for the

> Rulers' glory and renown,
> And for the good of the young ones of the town—
> In short all men to piety to bring.

But, in spite of its Biblical character, it could not possibly fulfil this object, and was much more likely to have the opposite result.[1]

From the representation of many other Biblical dramas, also, for instance, the 'Egyptian Joseph,' which Balthasar Voigt, first of all co-rector at Wernigerode, and since 1611 preacher at Drübeck, brought out 'as a religious comedy,' and had acted both in small and large schools, giving up two whole days to its performance, no beneficial results could be expected, either for the schools or for the spectators.[2] As little could any good influence result for the schools, and for the common people, from a play in which the preacher Ambrosius Pape, in 1602, took for his subject the adultery of David with Bathsheba. His object was to

[1] See our remarks, vol. xii. p. 29 ; Holstein, pp. 40, 94–95.
[2] See vol. xii. p. 25 ff.

show how easy it was to drift into this vice, and 'what the consequences are, both for the converted and the unconverted, albeit with a great difference'; even the ribald jests which are introduced would also be profitable, so the author thought.[1]

Baumgart's habit of making his Biblical plays a vehicle for attacks on the Catholics was practised to a much greater extent by many other playwrights who worked up Bible matter. Nearly the whole of this species of school drama bore a more or less religious polemical stamp, and was largely made up of the violent abuse of all that the Catholics held most sacred and venerable. The Catholics were treated as 'idolaters,' and there was no lack of ridicule and mockery of their worship on the public stage. It is enough, in this respect, to refer to several biblical pieces by the Augsburg schoolmaster, Sixt Birck († 1554), and the Dessau schoolmaster, Joachim Greff.[2] One of Birck's plays, 'Beel,' in which the 'idolatry' of the Catholics is portrayed, was translated into Latin in 1615, and publicly performed at the Ulm gymnasium.[3] As Canisius reports in his despatch of May 3, 1560, a 'tragedy' was acted at Strassburg in the gymnasium (at that time under the direction of the famous Calvinistic scholar, John Sturm), in which the apostle Paul and the physician Cosmos go to the bedside of a sick tradesman, and tell him that if he wanted to get well 'he must abjure the old faith and adopt the new one';

[1] Magdeburg, 1602. Complete title in Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii. 367, No. 187; cf. Holstein, p. 93.

[2] Catalogued in Goedeke, *l.c.* ii. 345, No. 54, 357, No. 123. Holstein (p. 99) speaks of Birck's 'fight against Catholic idolatry.' Concerning Greff, cf. our remarks, vol. xii. p. 97 f.

[3] Goedeke, *l.c.* ii. 389, No. 300.

they administer an emetic, and the sick man instantly vomits up a mass of Catholic objects of worship, and similar things sacred to the Catholics; tapers, psalm-books, monks' sandals, church vestments, chalices, the eucharistic wafers are ridiculed in this disgraceful manner.[1] Even a scurrilous piece such as Thomas Reichmair's 'Pommachius,' 'in which the devilish teaching and nature of the anti-Christian papacy are depicted in a wonderful and masterly manner,' was written for the good of 'the tender, innocent young.'[2] In a play of the year 1545, 'for the benefit of the dear children,' there were presented to the latter's view not only the coarsest abuse against the Pope and his followers, but also 'songs and collects in ancient popish use were introduced in mockery and derision of the Pope and his rabble, in order to teach people not to regard his jugglery as divine worship.'[3]

Everywhere the Pope and the Papists had to reckon with the devil, by whom they were generally carried off to hell. In Nicodemus Frischlin's comedy, 'Phasma,' which abounds in calumny and abuse, and

[1] ** *Canisii Epistulae*, ii. 630.

[2] More about it in our vol. xii. p. 75 ff.

[3] Cf. vol. xii. 92–96. 'The idea of making the stage a weapon of the Reformation called forth hundreds of pieces,' says Goedeke, *Joh. Römoldt*, p. 117; and Holstein (p. 276) says further, 'Wherever the pure evangel triumphed, a joyous enthusiasm for the drama and for dramatic productions manifested itself; the fresh breeze of new religious life, which the Reformation brought, stimulated men's minds to an output of dramatic work which lasted on through the two first decades of the seventeenth century.' But that any important dramatic works of lasting value were thus produced Holstein will not admit. 'The prolific dramatic spirit of the sixteenth century,' he writes at p. 75, 'created dramatists good and bad, but more bad than good ones, at least only mediocre ones, for the ideal aimed at is always higher than the fact accomplished, even though the wished-for end be attained.' 'There was a flood of dramatic productions, whose value was often very slight.'

which was acted in 1580 by students before princes and lords at Tübingen, this fate overtook not only the Papists, but also the heads of all religious parties not belonging to Lutheranism; outside the Lutheran faith, the only true and justifiable one, all other teaching was rejected as devil's work, and cast into hell. Against the defamers of the piece, its production and performance are justified by 'young people,' in a German epilogue:—

> It's nothing new that in these days,
> Jestingly, religious plays
> Are acted, and, by laughter caught,
> The wanton world is shown and taught
> How the devil will befool them
> How his wicked crew will rule them,
> And lead them into scandal's ways.[1]

The manner in which school plays were used to incite the Protestant youth against the papacy is especially seen in the plays which were published in 1617 for Luther's centenary by the Stettin co-rector, Henry Kielmann, and the Erdeborn pastor, Martin Rinckhart, and performed, among other actors, by the gymnasiasts of Eisleben.[2] In a third contemporaneous dramatic piece, 'Vom Lutherischen Jubelfest,' the Pope, who is finally fetched away by the devil, attempts with his followers to put a stop to the rejoicings, and counts especially on the help of the *Jesuwider* (Jesuits)—

> . . . . who in every wise
> Are fitted for this enterprise,
> Who in poison, murder, shot,
> Are a skilful, practised lot.[3]

[1] See our remarks, vol. xii. 109 ff., and Strauss, pp. 125–130.

[2] See our remarks, vol. xii. p. 114 ff.

[3] Holstein, pp. 244–245. The Latin play *Lutherus*, written for the centenary by Henry Hirtzwig, rector at Frankfort-on-the-Main (** cf.

In the schools of the Jesuits the humanist drama was essentially different in its tendency from that of the Protestant plays. As in the Jesuit schools, instruction was subordinated to education, humanist studies to the higher studies; so, too, in the humanistic studies themselves, moral and religious culture was the dominating element. Ancient literature was not to be read and learnt wholesale, but with strict discrimination and selection. 'As regards the humanist books, the Latin or Greek writers—*i.e.* in the universities, as well as in the colleges—they were to abstain as much as possible from using as text-books works likely to have an injurious effect on the young, if, happily, they were not already infected with immoral things and talk.' Such was the injunction of the oldest school ordinance issued in 1540, and according to which the Jesuits from the first carried on their work with the humanities.[1] Poets like Plautus and Terence appeared, therefore, neither in the curricula[2] nor in the catalogues of school books[3]; only 'Terentian formulae'—*i.e.* selected and quite harmless passages from Terence—were allowed.[4] The plan of study of the year 1599 renewed the urgent injunction to every provincial to be most careful in seeing that 'books by poets and other authors, which were likely to injure propriety of

Reinhardt, *M. Henrici Hirtzovigii rectoris de gymnasii Moeno-Francofurtani ratione et statu epistola.* Progr., Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1891), was performed at Spires, where the author had earlier filled the post of rector. Holstein, pp. 245–246.

[1] Pachtler, i. 58. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 213, 231. [3] *Ibid.* p. 317.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 153. ** In the year 1599 an attempt was made by Roman Jesuits to 'purge from indecency' some of the comedies of Plautus and a few pieces by Terence for their own school use and that of the Brothers of the Order, but the attempt does not appear to have been successful. *Canisii Epistulae,* ii. 459–460.

conduct and good morals, should be kept out of the schools until they had been purged of unclean matter and language; if this was impossible, as with Terence, it would be better for them to remain unread, rather than that the nature of their contents should stain the purity of the boys.' [1]

With the Catholics the school drama itself was not included in the school ordinances, nor recommended in an excessive manner as a means of culture, but used sparingly and within due limits. The rules drawn up finally in 1557 for the provincials stated that 'only very seldom were there to be performances of plays, and these must be exclusively Latin ones and respectable ones. The provincial must examine them himself beforehand, or else appoint someone else to do so; for these and all other similar performances, however, he must never allow the church to be used.' [2] In like manner, the general code of regulations for studies of 1599 decreed that 'The object of tragedies and comedies, which, however, must always be Latin, and only seldom acted, was a holy and pious one; also none but Latin and decorous interludes must be played; female *rôles* and costumes are quite forbidden.' [3] The use of church vestments and church ceremonies and hymns was also strictly interdicted on the stage.[4]

[1] Pachtler, ii. 263, No. 34. Duhr, *Studienordnung*, p. 188.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 129, No. 58.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 273, No. 13. ** Duhr, p. 192.

[4] See the ordinances (approved by the General) of the inspector of the Rhenish Province, Oliverius Manareus, of the year 1583, in Pachtler, i. 274, No. 117 to 119, 278, No. 245. In everything care was to be taken, 'ne quid insulsum vel impolitum vel parum grave seu indecorum ex nostra officina in publicum prodeat. Memores denique semper simus in hisce utilitatis publicae et decori.' ** Concerning the school drama among the Jesuits, cf. also Duhr, *Studienordnung*, p 136 ff.

By the school regulations of the German Province, drawn up in 1560–1561, two theatrical performances were to take place every year: 'a comedy or a dialogue' on the *Jubilate* Sunday after the spring examinations, and another after the autumn examinations, on the Sunday after St. Martin's Day.[1] Public school lectures and extempore speeches, on the other hand, took place very frequently. The school drama was valued by the Jesuits, on the whole, merely as training for eloquent delivery, for the actual art of oratory. Much exaggerated praise of these plays loses hereby its value, and, on the other hand, much blame also. No thought was given at the outset to the culture of theatrical art as such, mere educational aims were pursued; these schools had, nevertheless, a powerful influence on dramatic art and literature. It is above all noticeable that only such plays were written and acted as took into account the moral aims and the moral limits of dramatic art: a great merit this at a time in which only too often all tender emotions, all social incidents, all feelings of modesty were insulted and ridiculed in the school plays, as much as in the public theatres. This practice had disastrous results as regards aesthetic culture, inasmuch as the coarsening of morals inevitably brought on a coarsening of taste. The merely occasional interest in the drama, which was all that the Jesuit schools cultivated, could not possibly give a completely different turn to the taste of the period, nor could the Jesuits always steer clear of theatrical dilettanteism and excrescences; extreme deterioration, however, was averted.

[1] Pachtler, i. 167–168.

Biblical and religious subjects were treated in a deeply religious spirit, and even if many dramatic pieces showed a strongly polemical animus against heresies,[1] and vividly depicted their evil consequences, they were, at any rate in the main, free from odious attacks and calumnies, and rose in this respect high above the Protestant tendency plays of the period.[2]

As the aim and object of the theatre was to appeal to the feelings, to warn against bad morals, to make bad society and opportunities for sin seem hateful, to awaken zeal for virtue and for imitation of the

[1] ** Concerning fierce polemical dramas which the Jesuits had acted, see the reports of 1566 and 1568 in J. Hansen, *Rheinische Acten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, Bonn, 1896, pp. 529, 558.

[2] In his thoroughgoing and exemplary treatise, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitendramas in München*, R. von Reinhardstöttner says (p. 59): 'The drama of the Reformation seeks, so to say, to enlist partisans and to win followers to itself, while the Jesuit drama, conscious of its immovable foundation, is more concerned to maintain and defend the ground it already commands than to collect new associates.' 'When, therefore, the latest historian of the Reformation drama defines the task of the latter in such hateful and offensive terms as that it was composed and performed "in order to promote the worship of God, and *especially* the pure doctrine in opposition to Catholic heresy"—[or rather to Catholic "idolatry" as Holstein puts it, p. 99—cf. above, p. 182, note 2], he is forced at any rate to represent the Jesuit plays as "merely pedagogic drama" which entirely lacks "any polemical character." (Holstein, pp. 272, 274.) Francke's remark (p. 62) applies also to the Jesuit drama: "As time went on, the Protestant and Catholic dramas became markedly differentiated, for the former sank more and more into a mere vehicle for all sorts of political and ecclesiastical controversies, often spiced with wittiest satire and directed especially against the papacy, while the Jesuits worked on silently in their schools and had their Biblico-historical plays performed." While, therefore, the plays of the Protestants without attacks on the Pope were not thinkable, and these attacks constitute the whole wit of Gengenbach, Manuel, Naogeorg and others, with the Jesuits, as has been said, "heresy," as a rule, was only touched in passing; seldom, as in *Benno* (cf. pp. 86–87) was there any direct allusion to Luther, or, as in the Lutheran *Betlermantl* (in the *Cento Lutheranus*, p. 87) was he polemically attacked.'

saints, the legends of saints with their wealth of beautiful material, so touching, and, at the same time, so strong in its moral influence, were abundantly introduced into dramatic representations. In dealing with secular matter, also, the motives chosen were of a serious—indeed, a tragic—nature in harmony with the spirit of the ancients. The character comedy aimed its shafts at faults and follies which could be depicted on the stage without danger. Low jesting, vulgar comedy was of itself excluded; the superiors kept careful watch over the dignity of the performances.[1]

When, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel, wrote his 'Vertheidigungsrede des Bühnenrechtes' ('Defence of the Rights of the Stage') against the attacks of Calvinist preachers, he could with perfect right appeal to the example of the Society of Jesus, 'whose skill and excellence in the guidance, management, and moral training of the studious young were universally recognised, and who' for this very purpose made use of edifying plays and stage performances, 'far removed from wantonness and aught that could corrupt morals; things to them most detestable.'[2]

If the Jesuits, as was emphasised by Protestant

[1] On September 20, 1631, the following mandate was issued to the Jesuits in Germany from the 'Generalate' at Rome: 'Dramatibus, Comoediis Tragoediisque, quae subinde variis in locis a discipulis nostris in scena aguntur, aiunt interdum admisceri multa, ad risum spectantium ciendum, quae mimos magis et histriones quam religiosos viros decent. Proinde allaborandum erit, ut nihil simile fiat.' From the Munich imperial archives, contributed by K. Th. Heigel in the *Archiv für Gesch. des Buchhandels*, vi. 164, No. 8; cf. Von Reinhardstöttner, p. 147, No. 55.

[2] A. Baumgartner, *Joost van den Vondel*, Freiburg i. Br. 1882, p. 234.

writers,[1] set great store on the scenic magnificence of their school plays, it was not because they undervalued the importance of the actual poetry, but on account of the educational aim of the representations. They were to be festive performances. They were intended to vary the monotony of daily school life with joy and brightness, and also to lend external dignity and impressiveness to the school examinations. The princely patrons wished for this splendour, and gave generous help towards the expenses of it. For the large crowd of spectators the magnificent get-up must have had powerful attractions, and have drawn many to school, on whom the highest dramatic poetry would, in itself, have made no impression. This external splendour, moreover, was a root-characteristic of the earlier Catholic drama, which had grown out of the gorgeousness of religious festivals. In its external appointments, as in its inward nature, the religious school drama of the Jesuits was in close connexion with the old Mystery plays; in the representation of the dramas the poets followed Latin or Greek models, and thus connected the Mystery play with the forms of humanism.[2]

[1] Cf. Holstein, pp. 271-272.

[2] J. von Eichendorff (*Zur Gesch. des Dramas*, Paderborn, 1866, p. 23) is thinking more of the effects of the Jesuit drama than of the aims of its leaders when he says 'that the Jesuits, in the middle of the anarchy [of the "Reformation"] attempted to revive the Mysteries, in that they caused these same plays to be acted in their *Konvictorien* by the pupils in the Latin and German (?) tongues, and clothed the imposing matter in all the splendour of the most gorgeous stage appurtenances.' This 'last concession to the spirit of the age' points, he says, to a certain indigence, and he considers it very doubtful whether, amid the general demoralisation from which the Catholics also could not possibly have been quite immune, the attempt was likely to have any result.' 'But,' he adds, 'as matters stood, it was at any rate the only means of salvation,

Soon after the erection of the first colleges the school drama began already to show signs of prosperity. The first hitherto known performance of a Jesuit play on German soil is that which took place at Vienna in September 1555. Twelve pupils of the Jesuit gymnasium there played under the open sky the tragedy 'Euripus,' which represents in Latin verse the transitoriness of earthly things and the brevity of human life; the piece, written by the Franciscan, Livin van Brecht, of Antwerp, was later on translated into German by the rector of the Prague Jesuit College, Paul Hoffaeus. In 1560 the Jesuit scholars of Munich and those of Prague acted the 'Euripus'; in 1566 it was played at Dillingen.[1]

At Prague the number of spectators is said to have been more than 8000. The piece was acted three times at the gymnasium, and a fourth time in the largest hall of the Hradschin, by request of the governor, Archduke Ferdinand. It gave so much satisfaction that further performances were called for, and the college was at last obliged to beg the archduke urgently not to ask for any more, as it was not the prime business of the society to get up plays. The Bishop of Vienna, at one of the performances, gave a banquet to the

the only way by which the eternal banner of poetry could at least be held high above the muddy stream, and kept unstained for future times. . . . In such times it profits not stubbornly to follow in the wake of renaissance; what is wanted is to set the great and the elevated resolutely in opposition to the small and the contemptible, and by so doing to transform the turmoil of agitation into enthusiasm for things high and true, after which men, even in the lowest depths of aberration, still feel an unquenchable yearning.'

[1] ** *Canisii Epistulae*, ii. 873, 878. *Litterae Quadrimestres e . . . locis, in quibus aliqui de Societate Jesu versabantur, Romam missae III.* Matriti 1896, pp. 710–711.

forty actors.[1] At Vienna itself, not to mention other performances, 'Joseph' was acted, in 1561, by seventy students; the play lasted five hours.[2]

At Innsbruck, in 1576, the Jesuit pupils acted a play about St. Catherine, which lasted six hours, and gave such satisfaction to the Archduke Ferdinand II, then territorial prince of Tyrol, that he presented the actors of the principal parts with stipends. On the occasion of a princely visit this piece was translated into heroic verse by Father John Sanhoy; in the following year it was again performed, occupied eight hours and 200 actors, and met with immense approval. Later on other comedies followed. The Jesuit schools at Hall had already, in 1573, performed a dramatic piece in the presence of Ferdinand and his court, 'Die

[1] Schmidl, i. 146. It is, therefore, incorrect of Holstein (p. 273) to say of the Jesuit school drama: 'The first dramas of this class belong to the year 1597. In this year the Jesuit pupils at Hildesheim performed *the first drama*, and prizes were first distributed among them.' Equally erroneous is the assertion (p. 272) that 'In their method the Jesuits followed the principles of John Sturm.' Sturm's 'exaggerated estimate of school dramas (Holstein, p. 42) did not develop till 1566, when the Jesuits had already long since adopted quite other methods for the composition of school dramas. ** The Vienna Jesuits had the *Euripus* performed by the pupils at their new college, in the courtyard under the open sky, as early as the autumn of 1555. At the dramatic performances at the beginning of the school year there were present, in 1559, in the Aula of the Vienna College, 3000 spectators. Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.*, viii. 188, and J. E. Schlager, *Wiener Skizzen aus dem Mittelalter*, N.F. (1839), p. 231 ff.; in the last-named work there are fuller details about the later theatrical performances of the Vienna Jesuit College, especially that of the so-called *Emperor's plays* (*Ludi Caesarei*) of the seventeenth century, which took place in the presence of the imperial court. Cf. also Wissowa, *Über eine Anzahl lateinischer Schuldramen aus der Bibliothek des Gymnasiums*, Programme of the Catholic gymnasium at Breslau, 1861, p. 14 ff. Concerning Hoffaeus, see Duhr's article in the *Innsbruck Zeitschr. für Kath. Theol.* 1899.

[2] ** *Canisii Epistulae*, iii. 143, note 1.

Enthauptung Johannis' ('The Beheading of John the Baptist').[1]

An extraordinary impression was made on the spectators by a play entitled 'Von der hl. Cäcilia zu Rom' (St. Cecilia at Rome), which was acted, in 1603, in the spacious court of the Jesuit College at Graz, and lasted two whole days. On the first day the virtuous lives of the Holy Maiden and of the first Christians, in the midst of the vice and sin of pagan Rome, were set forth; and on the second the cruel persecution of Christians, and the martyrdom of the heroine Cecilia. The Archduchess Eleonora, who afterwards took the veil at Hall, said again and again that it was the sight of this pious play which had first awakened in her the desire to dedicate her life wholly to God, in the seclusion of the cloister.[2]

At Cologne, in 1581, a play which depicted the benevolence of St. Cecilia resulted in all the well-to-do spectators presenting the poor students with abundant supplies of clothes and money.[3] The same effect was produced by a play representing the generosity of St. Ivo, which was acted at Spires, in 1583.[4] In the same year, 'Die büssende Magdalena' ('The Penitent

[1] Hirn, i. 231-232. F. J. Lipowski, *Gesch. der Jesuiten in Tirol*, Munich 1822, p. 47. Zirngiebl, p. 323, *n.* 85.

[2] Peinlich, *Gesch. des Gymnasiums zu Graz*, Programme of 1869, p. 58. Concerning earlier and later Jesuit plays at Graz, cf. p. 46, and the Programme of 1870, p. 5. The play of *Esther*, which was performed in 1609 in the Aula during two successive days, attracted nearly 3000 spectators. Concerning the performances at Graz, cf. also Krones, pp. 333-344. In 1612 Archduke Ferdinand lent his own state clothes for the staging of *William of Aquitania*, and spent 5000 florins on other costumes and decorations. *Ibid.* pp. 339-340.

[3] *Litt. annuae ad a.* 1581, Romae, 1583, p. 171.

[4] *Litt. annuae ad a.* 1583, Romae, 1585, p. 136.

Magdalen') was performed. An unfortunate woman, who had fallen into sin, and had often thought of putting an end to her life by suicide, was present at the performance, and was so affected that she took heart again, and repented after the example of the Magdalen.[1]

'There is, indeed, in these days,' Hippolytus Guarinoni, town physician of Hall, in Tyrol, wrote, in 1610, concerning the Jesuit plays, 'in the whole wide world no delight beyond this one, and many a godless, corrupt, erring man, by the mere sight of such a play, in which either the reward which God gives the pious, or the terrible punishment which the devil sends the godless, is presented to view, is more quickly moved and influenced to lead a better and godlier life, than he might otherwise have been in his whole lifetime, either by sermons or by any other means: Reason, a sermon appeals to the ear only; but when the eyes also are impressed, especially when the thing is presented so excellently, so properly, and so beautifully, as if all the people were actually there, it makes an all-powerful impression.'

'There is such power and fascination in this scenic and oratorical appeal to sight and hearing, that not only the true believer, but also the antagonists and the sectaries of all sorts are attracted to them from far; high potentates themselves look on at them with special interest and delight, go to great expense in erecting stages, provide the best and most beautiful apparatus, yea, verily, they hasten from distant lands, and make long journeys, in order to see these performances.'[2]

[1] *Litt. annuae*, p. 139.

[2] Guarinoni, book II. chap. xvii.; cf. Meissner, *Die englischen Komödianten zur Zeit Shakespeares in Oesterreich*, pp. 5–9.

'With a sorrowful heart' a preacher in the year 1594 complained as follows: 'That great lords, princes, counts and nobles, no less than the common burghers and peasants, take so great delight in the comedies of the Jesuits is sufficiently known; they contribute richly and in excess to the expenses of the same, and they do honour to the pupils who act in them; and these plays are a great instrument in the hands of their party, and one which we Protestants almost altogether lack. And great and high lords often come to these plays, as to the most delightful entertainments, which is of no slight service to the Jesuits in implanting their idolatry, and even in making it gain favour with the evangelicals themselves.' [1]

When in 1585 the Jesuit pupils at Coblentz acted the 'Egyptian Joseph,' the Elector John VII of Treves came to see it, bringing with him the Electors of Cologne and Mayence, the Counts Palatine and many noble personages; he prepared a festive banquet for the seventy actors in token of his appreciation of their performance. 'The play,' says a reporter, 'was a spur to the scholars to more earnest endeavours.' [2] At Paderborn also the Jesuit schools often got up theatrical performances, which were magnificently put on the stage and enhanced by all the magic of music. The Protestant, Count von der Lippe, who had been present at one of these performances in 1592, gave the Jesuits immediately afterwards a sum of gold and a

[1] *Nothgedrungene Erinnerung und Vermahnung an alle, so dem Evangelium wohl zugethan sein* (1594), Bl. 3[b].

[2] 'Quae res magnos addidit iuventuti ad proficiendum stimulos et profundendos litteraria in palaestra sudores.' Dominicus, *Gesch. des Koblenzer Gymnasiums*, i. 19–20.

supply of building wood towards the erection of their college in that town.[1]

Among the plays acted between the last decades of the sixteenth century and the year 1618 there are very few Biblical ones; the only names recorded are 'Vom verlorenen Sohn' (Heiligenstadt, 1582), 'Geschichte des ägyptischen Joseph' (Munich, 1583), 'Christus als Richter' (Graz, 1589), 'Saul und David' (Graz, 1600), 'Naboth' (Ratisbon, 1609), 'Elias' (Prague, 1610).

The list of secular plays is significantly longer: they are 'Gottfried von Bouillon' (Munich, 1596), 'Die menschliche Neugier' (Munich, 1603), 'Kaiser Mauritius' (Ingolstadt, 1603), 'Der Totentanz' (Ingolstadt, 1606), 'Belisar' (Munich, 1607), 'Julian der Apostät' (Ingolstadt, 1608), 'Der Doktor von Paris' (Munich, 1609), 'Theodosius der Jüngere' (Ratisbon, 1613), 'Otto Redivivus, von erster Stiftung der Universität Dillingen' (Dillingen, 1614), 'Von Leontio, einem Grafen welcher durch Machiavellum verführt ein erschreckliches Ende genommen' (Ingolstadt, 1615), 'Von Ametan, einen unbussfertigen Engelländischen Hauptmann' (Augsburg, 1615).

By far the larger part of the material of these plays was taken from 'old tales of Christian contents' and from sacred legends. To these belong also the piece already mentioned, 'Barlaam und Josaphat,' which was very frequently performed, for instance, at Munich in 1573, and at Graz in 1599, and further, 'St. Ambro-

[1] Bessen, *Gesch. von Paderborn*, ii. 95. ** A list of the titles of the Paderborn Jesuit dramas of 1592–1770 is given by W. Riester in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, iv. (1894) p. 5 ff.

sius,' 'St. Kassianus,' 'St. Benno,' 'St. Katherine,' 'St. Brigitta' (Munich, 1591, 1594, 1598, 1602, 1604), 'St. Justus Antisiodorensis' (Ingolstadt, 1604), 'St. Conrad' (Constance, 1607), 'St. Agnes' (Innsbruck, 1608), 'Von Cipriano und Justina,' a subject also treated later on by Calderon in the 'Wundertätige Magus' (Graz, 1608), 'St. Ulrich' (Dillingen, 1611), 'St. Heinrich der Kaiser und Kunigunde' (Ingolstadt, 1613), 'St. Beatus' (Lucerne, 1615), 'St. Wilibald' (Eichstätt, 1615), 'St. Elizabeth von Marburg' (Prague, 1615), 'St. Hildegard,' 'St. Vitus und Modestus' (Augsburg, 1617, 1618).[1]

[1] From the Programmes contributed by C. Weller to the *Serapeum*, xxv. 174 ff. In vols. xxv.–xxvii. of the *Serapeum* Weller catalogues about 800 Jesuit dramas. Cf. also Weller's *Annalen*, ii. 288 ff.; Von Reinhardstöttner, pp. 76, 78, 80, 87, 145, No. 34; Von Hammer-Purgstall, *Khesl*, iii. 128, note 7. ** Of new literature about the Jesuit drama, of which there are still extant in Vienna abundant manuscript treasures we may mention: J. Zeidler, *Studien und Beiträge zur Gesch. der Jesuitenkomödie und des Klosterdramas* (*Theatergeschichtl. Forschungen von B. Litzmann*, IV), Hamburg and Leipzig, 1891; Richter, *Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten*, i. 21 ff.; M. d'Huart, *Le théâtre des Jésuites*, 1e *partie. Des exercices dramatiques dans les établissements d'instruction au moyen-âge et au XVI siècle. Essai d'introduction à l'histoire du théâtre des Jésuites* (Programme of the Athenaeum at Luxemburg, 1891); Bächtold, *Gesch. der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, Frauenfeld, 1892, *Anmerkungen*, p. 152; Bahlmann, 'Aachener Jesuitendramen des 17. Jahrhunderts' in the *Zeitschr. des Aachener Gesch.-Vereins*, xiii. (1891), p. 175 ff.; Ellinger, 'Mitteilungen aus Jesuitendramen' in the *Zeitschr. für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, v. (1891) 384 ff.; Bolte in the *Zeitschr. für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, v. (1892) 76 ff. At Molsheim in Alsatia a piece called *Karl der Grosse* was acted in 1618; the gorgeous spectacle lasted three days; see *Revue catholique d'Alsace*, 1887, pp. 182, 257. The work on the Jesuit theatre at Eichstätt, published by Dürrwächter in the *Sammelblatt des Histor. Vereins Eichstätt* (x. [1895] 42–102) is of great value; it is chiefly based on printed matter and manuscripts of the Eichstätt Ordinariat's library. No less valuable is the study 'Aus der Frühzeit des Jesuitendramas,' published by Dürrwächter in the *Jahrbuch des Histor. Vereins* at Dillingen, in 1897, in which the manuscript Jesuit dramas are treated. To these belong further works by Dürrwächter,

A profound impression was also made by the drama of 'St. Afra,' written by Matthew Rader, and performed at Ratisbon in 1600. 'This play,' wrote the Ingolstadt Father Hieronymus Drexel to Rader, 'was verily no play; for if the actors only made pretence of weeping, the spectators wept in very truth.'[1] Among the finest legend dramas, which served for the glorification of the worship of Mary, may be counted 'Cyriakus' and 'Theophilus,' performed at Munich in 1596 under the direction of the Jesuits of St. Mary's congregation.[2]

Altogether the plays acted at Munich with the generous help of the court hold, undoubtedly, the first

viz. *Die Darstellung des Todes und Totentanzes auf den Jesuitenbühnen, vorzugsweise in Bayern*, see *Forschungen zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte Bayerns*, v. (1897), and 'James Gretser's De regno humanitatis comoedia prima' (Programme of the Gymnasium at Ratisbon, Stadtamhof, 1898); cf. *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, cxxiii. (1899) 377 ff., 456 f. As to the wish expressed in these pages that the unprinted plays of the first period of the Jesuit drama might be brought to view, and the better ones published in full, for which task Dr. Dürrwächter with his many-sided acquirements and his fine tact is the right man, I cordially assent. Cf. further Wolkan, *Gesch. der deutschen Literatur in Böhmen*, Prague, 1894, p. 151 f.; Zeidler, 'Über Jesuiten und Ordensleute als Theaterdichter,' in the *Zeitschr. des Vereins für niederösterr. Landeskunde*, 1893, p. 128; 1894, p. 12 f.; Bahlmann, 'Das Drama der Jesuiten,' in the *Euphorion*, ii. 271 ff.; *ibid.* 'Jesuitendramen der niederrhein. Ordensprovinz' (15 *Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Leipzig, 1896); Scheid, *Der Jesuit J. Masen*, Cologne, 1898, p. 6 ff.; Schwartz, *Esther im deutschen und neulateinischen Drama des Reformationszeitalters*, Oldenburg, 1898, p. 244 f.; G. Müller, *Beitr. zur Gesch. des Schultheaters am Gymnasium Josephinum zu Hildesheim*, Hildesheim, 1900. See also finally, Nagl-Zeidler, *Deutsch-Österreich. Literaturgeschichte*, Vienna, 1899, p. 655 f., where there are further literary notices.

[1] 'Raderiana,' in the *Munich Consistorial Archives*, No. 4022. Rader, of whose labours as a philologist we shall speak later on, is also the author of the tragedy of *St. Kassianus*, acted at Munich in 1594; cf. de Backer, iii. 11.

[2] The pieces acted in the Jesuit college at Lucerne from 1582 to 1620 are enumerated by Von Reinhardstöttner, pp. 78–79.

place in the German Jesuit drama, especially as regards the brilliancy and the magnificence of the scenic apparatus.[1]

In the very first year after the foundation of the gymnasium, at the end of the opening ceremony in the spring of 1560, 'a fine play' was acted in the presence of the ducal family, the highest state officials, and numerous burghers.[2] In May 1565 a 'Tragikomödia: Judith' was performed, first of all before the Duke and his court in the Residence, and a second time before all the people; it met with great approval. 'The place, which could hold many thousands of people, was so thronged that numbers were obliged to climb up on the walls and the roofs of houses.'[3] On the occasion of the marriage of Duke William (V) with Renata of Lorraine, the Jesuit pupils, in February 1568, performed the tragedy 'Von dem starken Samson,' written by the ducal councillor Andrew Fabricius, and for which Orlando di Lasso had composed a grand chorus. The piece represented the history of Samson, especially the treachery of Delilah towards him, and was not free from polemical hits at the Protestants, in its allusions to the sacredness of marriage and the inadmissibility of marriage contracts with those of another faith. 'From this piece,' says the author in

[1] 'A few specimens of account-books that have been preserved bear witness to the persistent support given by the Bavarian princes to the dramas of the Jesuits.' In the years 1589–1590 the collective sums given by the court amounted to '2391 Fl. 1 Kr. 1 D.' Von Reinhardstöttner, p. 62, and p. 149, note 72.

[2] J. B. Hutter, *Die Gründung des Gymnasiums zu München*, p. 11; cf. p. 31.

[3] Report of a Jesuit to the Vicar-General, Francis Borgia, d. d. Dillingen, July 1, 1565; preserved in the college of the Jesuits at Exaeten in Holland.

the dedication to Duke William, 'the future prince of the people may learn how dangerous it is to contract a bond with a foreign wife and to seek for marriage where religion opposes.' Concerning the *mise en scène* the reports are brimful of admiration.[1]

The most brilliant scenic displays in the open air were given by the Munich College in the years 1574, 1577 and 1597. The first, the tragedy of 'Constantine,' was very probably written by Father George Agricola, who was still president of the college in 1595.[2] The piece is still preserved in manuscript. On the first day the heroic deeds of the Christian emperor were represented; the second day was devoted to his mother Helena, and to the wonderful discovery of the wood of the cross in Jerusalem. The whole town, beautifully decorated, served as the stage; more than 1000 persons took part in the play, either as talkers or as mutes. From far and near people poured, to stare in wonder and astonishment at this unparalleled sight, to see the conqueror of Maxentius make his entry in Roman fashion in a gorgeous four-in-hand, surrounded by 400 riders, in glittering armour which shed its radiance far and wide, or on the visible token of redemption carried through the streets of the town amid the rapturous acclamations of the deeply moved crowd.[3]

[1] Von Reinhardstöttner, pp. 70–74; cf. M. Lossen, *Der Kölnische Krieg*, i. 86–87.

[2] Cf. Von Reinhardstöttner, pp. 76 and 158, note 172.

[3] K. Trautmann, *Oberammergau und sein Passionsspiel*, p. 50. 'What had the Jesuits accomplished? To put it forcibly, they had realised—what in our own day Richard Wagner attempted with such marked success—a union of all the arts in the framework of the drama. The effect was an intoxicating one, and, like the Master of Baireuth, they, too, found forthwith fanatical followers, and in the Wittelsbachers, with their keen sense of art, most gracious promoters of these aims. The elements favour-

A pageant of this sort was closely akin to the old Mysteries in its effects on the masses. A similar

able to such amalgamated art-work were present in admirable completeness at the Bavarian court, the most excellent "painters, sculptors, and stucco workers," schooled in Italy, for the decorations, costumes, living pictures, and technical appliances; a music chapel which at that time had not its equal in Europe, and whose conductor, Orlando di Lasso, was a composer of equal genius and rapidity; and that the Jesuits as stage-managers were in a position to produce splendid effects even their bitterest enemies have been forced to admit. The dramatic stories which formed the basis of these festival plays were adapted to the most comprehensive audience; they were written in Latin and were performed by the Jesuit schools; they were, therefore, in reality nothing more than a development of the school comedy already in vogue at Munich. But owing to the nature of its subject-matter, this school comedy passed eventually wholly into the service of the Catholic Church, and this explains how it was that these performances became popular also among the masses who were ignorant of Latin; scenes and characters from Holy Scripture, with which the people had been familiar from childhood, were represented in them, just as is the case to-day in the Oberammergau Passion plays. Moreover many devices were resorted to for helping the understanding of those who had not had a classical training. Programme books in the German language were distributed among the audience, the so-called Perioche, which explained the course of the action; as at the Ammergau plays, pictures from the Old and New Testament were provided as illustrations, and before each act (precisely in Meistersinger fashion) the herald appeared on the stage, and with stentorian voice explained in German verse what was coming next. All, therefore, that was missed by the crowd was the exact wording of the contents of the play, and herein lies the great difference between the *Latin* Jesuit drama and the *German* popular plays of the Reformation period. If, however, "the Jesuits rejected the German language" understanded of the people, the impression produced was not lessened, any more than in the case of the services of Catholic worship which were also performed in Latin. Religious exaltation was the aim and object of the representations, as was well known to the faithful, true-hearted crowds that flocked to these plays, and even if they did not understand every single word, all that met the eye served to stir soul and imagination to their depths, and to exalt the mind to that attitude of devout consecration which the plays aimed at creating. It is just the same nowadays at Oberammergau. Certainly no one ever went to the Passion-play village merely to enjoy the poetic beauties of the libretto. The tremendous impressiveness of these plays comes from the might of the visible manifestation, and for the people this effect is none the less profound because the language is Latin. Thus, then, in

impression was created by the play of 'Esther' which was acted in 1577, by desire of Duke Albert V, all the arts being pressed into joint service to fascinate sight and hearing. For the representation of princely splendour, the most exquisite jewels and trinkets, and priceless state garments were lent from the treasures of the Duke. At the feast of King Ahasuerus, 'for the delight of the eye,' 160 vessels and plates of solid gold and silver were put on the table. A war-dance according to ancient fashion enchanted the beholders. Many of the nobles did not grudge the expense of a long journey to witness such a dazzling spectacle.[1]

The high-water mark of the Munich Jesuit drama is reached in 'Der Triumph des hl. Michael,' which was acted in 1597 on the occasion of the consecration of the Jesuit church of St. Michael. The intention of this play was to represent not only the fight between the archangel and Lucifer, but the whole fate of the Church in battle with the heathen gods, with sceptical learning,

Bavaria at that period, there came into existence, with the Catholic Church for its ideal centre, that "joint-stock company of all the arts combined," Richard Wagner's dream for the whole of Germany, the National Festival play, to which crowds flock from all parts of the country, in which the whole nation takes part spiritually and materially, and which, by its grandiose performances of simple theatrical pieces, rises to the height of a national act of consecration. Paradoxical as this assertion may seem, it corresponds wholly with facts, and can be, point by point, authentically proved,' pp. 50–53.

[1] Von Reinhardstöttner, p. 77 and p. 159, note, 181 ff. ** Friedrich Schmidt, 'Ein Festspiel der Münchener Jesuitenschule im 16. Jahrhundert.' *Forschungen*, iii. 12–17. 'Archivalische Beiträge zur Gesch. der Schulkomödie in München' (1549 to 1618), contributed by K. Trautmann in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, i. (1891) 61–68, where, with omission of the notices relating to the school comedy of the Jesuits, everything is collected together that could be found in the protocols of the Munich council and treasury account bearing on the history of school comedy at the Munich town schools.

with apostasy and heresy, under the cruel persecutions of the Emperor Diocletian. While holy martyrs give up life itself for the faith, the Church prays for its enemies to God:

> I ask not for their crime its judgment meet;
> Ah, no, with fire of love purge Thou their soul.
> Teach Thou the heretics to know Thee, I intreat,
> And to Thy ways return heart-whole.

The play ends with the triumph of the Church and the precipitation of 300 devils into the burning flames of hell. The renowned composer, George Victorin, musical director at the Jesuit church, had set the piece to music; there were frequently 900 voices joining in the chorus.[1]

The most important school dramatist among the Jesuits was James Bidermann, a Suabian, of Ehingen, born in 1577.[2] At the age of sixteen he entered the Order, and profited at Augsburg by the instruction of the famous Matthew Rader, who reckoned him, with Jeremiah Drechsel and George Stengel, among the best pupils out of the 1300 whom he had trained. At twenty-two Bidermann was appointed teacher of rhetoric to the college at Munich. For nine years he worked at this post, and then became professor of

[1] Von Reinhardstöttner, pp. 83–85. 'The whole Apocalypse is represented scenically. Choirs of angels stand in the clouds; the altar picture of Christopher Schwarzen (see our remarks, vol. xi. p. 164 ff.) may have floated before the poet's vision when he composed the scene in which Michael collects his troops, a scene resembling the finest of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.' Cf. Lipowski, i. 302. 'The question whether Spanish plays were or were not acted at Munich may be set aside. At any rate the great masters of the Spanish drama exercised important influence over the Jesuit drama, and contributed to the richness of its development.' Von Reinhardstöttner in the *Jahrb. für Münchener Geschichte*, ii. 59.

[2] ** *Ibid.* xi. 88 f.; Riegler, vi. 329 f.

philosophy, and later on of theology, so that he could only continue the direction of humanistic studies in a very limited manner. The last seventeen years of his life he spent as a theologian and censor of books at Rome. He published a whole series of small humanistic writings, 'Epigrammata,' 'Elegies,' 'Herodias' an epic, 'Utopia' a satirical romance, 'Heilige Freuden,' 'Wäldchen'; his dramas, on the other hand, he did not intend for the press. They passed in manuscript to the different school theatres, and were largely performed, but were not collected and published till 1665.

Bidermann's historical tragedy 'Belisar,' which was acted at Munich in 1607, represents in artistic language, and with true dramatic skill, the victorious course of the great general, his obsequiousness towards Augusta Theodora, his crime against Pope Silverius, and his terrible downfall. Subserviently to the taste of the period the poet introduces allegorical figures; but he knows how to invest allegorical characters with life.[1] There is a beautiful choral song in the second act, in which, after the battle between the Greeks and the Vandals, Gelimer is brought forward as a captive. A choir of eight boys sings:

Insensate dreams of this wretched existence
Hovering around us with jeers as we sink,
Oh, what a spectacle ghastly ye bring us,
Insensate dreams of this wretched existence!
Those who at wanton, luxurious table
Quaffed from the beaker the drunken libation,
Crave now in vain for a cool drink of water
Which to hold out to them none now is able.
Woe to Gelimer! Yestreen he was swilling,
Now he thirsts for a draught which for ever 's denied him.

[1] Cf. Von Reinhardstöttner, p. 89.

In an intensely dramatic scene, Gelimer, taken captive by Belisarius, dilates to his conqueror on the rapid changes of fortune. But Belisarius, 'the invincible, triumphant general,' has no time for reflections of this sort. Envy, however, takes arms against him. He falls under suspicion of having joined in a conspiracy against the life of the Emperor Justinian. By command of the latter he is arrested and brought to judgment, and by means as false as those by which (in the fourth act) he convicted the Pope of treachery, he, though innocent, is found guilty. His conscience, which appears throughout the scene as an allegorical figure, draws the parallel between his sentence and that of the Pope. The final scene, in which the blinded Belisarius, led by his son Arcadius, leaves the Roman Forum, the scene of his one-time triumph, as a beggar asking alms of the people, is deeply moving.

In his drama 'Vom ägyptischen Joseph,' performed in 1615, Bidermann, in contradistinction to other poets,[1] only alludes cursorily to the love episode with Potiphar's wife. He dwells with special interest on the private family incidents; the agonised heart of Jacob, who 'can no longer be a father since he has lost his son,' and the penitence of the brothers are his most effective motives. 'The princes who were present,' says a report, 'were moved to copious tears.'

The victory of faith over worldly lust is glorified in the play 'Der Römer Makarius,' who out of love to God, after a bitter struggle with his own heart, tears himself away from his parents and his intended bride, to spend his life in the desert.

[1] See our remarks, vol. xii. p. 26 ff.

When Bidermann's 'Johannes Calybita' was performed, 'all the spectators burst into floods of tears'; the fate and the character of the hero do indeed excite the utmost pity and admiration. This, again, is a story of the self-banishment of a young man, born to luxury, who leaves father and mother, home and riches, in order to devote himself entirely to the service of God, and who finally, after hard struggles with the demons, seeks once more his paternal palace at Rome, and unknown and unrecognised leads in front of its walls a life of humility and renunciation, until a missile from a porter gives him a death-wound. As he is dying he reveals himself, and proves his identity by producing his mother's Bible, the only heirloom which he had taken away with him.[1]

But with all the seriousness of his subject, the poet knew also how to supply the humorous element. In his 'Makarius' this element is represented in the faithful servant Sannio, who, by command of the parents, follows their fugitive son through all lands; in 'Johannes Calybita' it is the sailor Nauklerus, a quite Shakespearian character; in his 'Cenodoxus' incomparably fine humour is embodied in the slave Dama and the parasite Mariskus.[2]

This 'Cenodoxus, the Doctor of Paris,' was written by the author at the age of twenty-four, and holds the first place among his master-works. The piece is based on the legend of St. Bruno, and deals with the life of a doctor in Paris, whose unholy end determines St. Bruno to forsake the world and to found the Carthusian Order. It is a character comedy with a tragic end. In several

[1] From Von Reinhardstöttner, pp. 91–92.
[2] Von Reinhardstöttner, pp. 91, 92, 97.

highly effective scenes the 'doctor' is made to represent the puffed-up scholar, who seeks nothing but empty fame, lives on the praise of flatterers, and resists all the better impulses of his conscience and his guardian angel. At last God sends an illness upon him, but even this has no influence on the egoist sunk in the mire of self-love. What to men seems innocence and holiness, in him is only semblance. He carries on his hypocritical game till death. But then the mask falls off. In warning to others the corpse rises three times with the awful confession: 'I am accused—I am sentenced—I am damned!' In spite of the comic satire which dominates the first part of the play, it is throughout conceived in a profoundly ascetic spirit, and worked out with fine spiritual insight. When it was first performed in 1609 at the college at Munich, 'most of the spectators, at the final scene, trembled from head to foot, as though they themselves had been brought to judgment. A hundred sermons would not have had such an effect. Fourteen of the most distinguished lords at the Bavarian Court withdrew into solitary retirement the following day, in order to go through the exercises of St. Ignatius and to reform their lives.'[1]

[1] Authentic passages in Reinhardstöttner, p. 143, note 1, and his admirable characterisation of the piece, pp. 93–97. Concerning a German rendering of the *Cenodoxus* prepared by Joachim Meichel in 1625, cf. J. Bolte in the *Jahrb. für Münchener Geschichte*, iii. 535–540. On the whole, says Von Reinhardstöttner (p. 63), 'In the first century of their dramatic activity the Jesuits did great things. Dramas full of force and sublimity were put on the stage by them, and even if their tragic diction did not equal the freedom of their lyric poetry, as seen in the work of Balde and Sarbievius, there is an undeniable poetic spirit and a lofty seriousness in the dramas of Agricola, Fabricius, and others. How otherwise can the tremendous success of these performances be explained?' At pp. 105–107 it says: 'Who that is acquainted with the plays of the first half of the seventeenth century, their poetical intention, their artistic execution,

All these, as well as other dramas of Bidermann, and numbers of Latin dramas by unknown authors, taken from history and from the legends of saints, come nearer to Calderon, at any rate as regards spirituality of treatment, dramatic motive, and artistic, aesthetic dignity, than the great majority of the tendency plays of the Protestants. On the young they could not fail to exercise a moral and thoroughly educative influence.[1]

can doubt for a moment that the Jesuits, when they took over the barren humanist drama and pressed into its service the whole company of arts, did invaluable service to their century and to the cause of culture, and kindled and kept up taste and feeling for the theatre and its helpful agency? and more than elsewhere was this the case in the sixteenth century in Bavaria, above all in Munich. . . .' 'It were ungrateful to undervalue those who, in Germany's heaviest times, helped to foster the bud which in summer days lent such brilliancy to our national literature. The Jesuit drama of the sixteenth century has verily fulfilled this task, so that it is fully entitled to take an honourable place in the history of our culture and literature. It was at Munich, however, that it attained its greatest excellence—its highest outward splendour and fullest inward completeness—at the court of the Wittelsbachs, whose genuine artistic sense and keen insight for all that was great and beautiful raised them, in this respect, high above all the German princes, and caused their rightful praise to resound from the lips of every artist far beyond the limits of the German lands.'

[1] 'It is an excellent, admirable and highly commendable practice of the Jesuits,' writes Hippolytus Guarinoni (cf. above, p. 194), to take by preference, as the subject of these plays, Christian stories of pious, honourable, moral, modest people, who have shone before the whole world as examples of saintly Christian conduct and virtue, and whose lives and behaviour are thus held up in lifelike manner on the stage to the gaze of all mankind, who thereby not only derive unspeakable entertainment for their minds, but are also incited and encouraged to Christian virtue and godly living.'

CHAPTER VI

THE UNIVERSITIES

CONCERNING the condition of the vast majority of universities contemporary records speak with such bitterness and despair, that it might seem as though in reality, as a preacher puts it, 'In learning, no less than in respectability and morality, everything had gone to rack and ruin.' [1]

However, as regards all the descriptions of university life in official reports, in ordinances of provincial governments, in letters and other written records of contemporaries, even should all these sources be altogether trustworthy, account must still be taken of the words spoken by the anonymous author of a 'Christenspiegel' in 1597, 'to warn the present generation against faint-heartedness and despair. Things are just the same now as they have been at all times; those who follow virtue in secret are not catalogued in archives, libraries, and chronicles. In every class there are still numbers of God-fearing people, loving and practising virtue, of whom the world hears nothing.' [2]

[1] *Ein heilsam Predigt von der christenlichen Erziehung der Jugend* (1564), Bl. C.

[2] *Christenspiegel* (1597) Bl. A^2. Robert von Mohl says with perfect right, in his *Geschichtliche Nachweisungen über die Sitten und das Betragen der Tübinger Studenten während des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, that in the official archives from which he has taken his information, 'many aspects of life that are worth knowing are left wholly in the dark, and naturally so, because it is just the most praiseworthy qualities, the unobtrusive virtues

SECTION I.—*The universities under Catholic authorities—Activity of the Jesuits*

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the oldest college of the Empire, the 'Caroline University' at Prague, had long since been in a state of complete insignificance. In 1517 a preacher in a public pulpit called this institute a 'rusty jewel.' Since the invasion of Lutheranism almost incessant dissensions had gone on between the Lutherans and the Utraquists; the young students lost all interest in the old studies and did nothing but excite themselves over theological contests; the lecture halls were deserted.[1] By degrees all the faculties, except that of philosophy, died out; after the middle of the century there were generally not more than from eight to ten professors and twenty-five to thirty students at work; the lectures were mostly held in a single hall of the Karlscollegium.[2] According to the injunctions of the imperial decree of 1609,[3] a reform of the university was to have been carried out, and manifold transactions between the

of industry and scholarly labour which give no occasion for notice and record, while faults and excesses call forth official action, and thus immortalise themselves.' These words apply to all the universities. 'Among all the reports in these books of history, of uproarious, offensive, reprehensible proceedings,' writes Karl von Raumer, iv. 30, 'it may escape the reader's notice that at the self-same universities, at the self-same time when these disgraceful proceedings were going on, there were often youths working on in silence and obscurity, who later on, as grown men, became the delight and the ornaments of their Fatherland.' 'It could be demonstrated that from the earliest times down to the present day, good and evil have existed simultaneously at the universities. At the same time it cannot be denied that at one time good, at another evil has preponderated' (p. 32), and that evil has been specially in the ascendant since the outbreak of the religious political revolution nobody can dispute.

[1] Tomek, p. 150 ff. [2] *Ibid.* p. 173 ff.

[3] See our remarks, vol. x. p. 418.

professors and the Protestant Estates took place, but these had no permanent result. Angry disagreement arose among the professors; several of them, in the administration of the university funds, were guilty of embezzlements.'[1] In the Karlscollegium, in which nearly all the professors had their residential quarters, complete anarchy set in. The 'Contubernium' of the college, says a report of 1614, 'in view of the prevailing drunkenness, might more fitly be called a Combibernium.' 'Wine talked indecently at meal times, and wine gave back indecent answers; quarrels grew to brawls and duels, and the gentlemen, in Helot fashion, served the boys, their servants, as a spectacle to laugh at. Frequently this vice passed beyond the threshold of the college; the reelers fell on the floor and had to be either led or carried by their servant-men. In winter time the students were often kept waiting outside the door before the lectures began, and stood shivering with cold. And as they often waited in vain, they took to following the example of the teacher, and gave up attending the afternoon lectures. Many of the professors only lectured once or twice during the whole half-year, and many of them not even once.'[2]

Whilst this out-and-out Protestantised institution was sinking into deeper and deeper degradation, the cathedral chapter of Prague addressed an urgent request to the King Ferdinand in 1552, begging that an independent Catholic academy should be started side by side with the Protestant college, and placed under the direction of the Jesuits.[3] Ferdinand entered willingly into this scheme, and in 1556, in a former Dominican

[1] Tomek, pp. 214-230. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 202-204.

[3] Von Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.*, viii. 199.

cloister, at St. Clemens, the 'Clementine Academy' was opened. 'I hope,' Canisius had written to the founder of the Order, Ignatius, 'I pray that all the Fathers who come to Prague for the opening of the college may be fulfilled with holy patience and with fervent resolution not to dispute, but to forbear, and to work for the edification of this province more by deeds than by words.'[1]

This institution, which had for its object the restoration of the Catholic religion in the land, consisted of a gymnasium and a philosophical and a theological faculty; with both the schools a 'Convikt' for the nobility and a seminary for poor students were connected.[2] A 'right of promotion,' bestowed on the college by a foundation brief in 1562, was not made use of till 1565. The 'Convikt' in 1576 had already seventy pupils, chiefly sons of native or foreign noble families; twenty years later the whole number of students rose to about 700, among which, as a rule, from eighty to a hundred attended the philosophical lectures. After the beginning of the seventeenth century also, the number of promotions increased considerably; in 1608 thirty-one students, in 1610 fifty-two, were made bachelors of philosophy. According to an enactment of 1616, it was decreed that in future three courses of philosophy should be held by three different professors, and the theological subjects were to be taught by four professors.[3]

A condition of things similar to that in the 'Caro-

[1] Bucholtz, p. 200; see our remarks, vol. viii. pp. 236–248.

[2] *Ein Lektionsverzeichniss* ('A Catalogue of Lectures'), Pachtler, i. 150–152.

[3] Tomek, pp. 160–169, 241.

line University' at Prague also obtained, after the outbreak of the religious revolution, in the second oldest college of Germany, the university of Vienna. Under the Emperor Maximilian I, the Vienna University had reached the summit of prosperity and distinction, and had been reckoned among the first colleges of Europe. In 1519, the first year after the Emperor's death, 661 fresh students had been enrolled, and in 1520, 569 more;[1] after these dates, however, civil disturbances and wars—above all, the religious revolution—occasioned such rapid deterioration in the institute that it came near to complete disruption. In 1525, owing to lack of pupils, the disputations were stopped; in 1527–1528 the total number of enrolments in all the faculties went down to from twenty to thirty, in 1532 it sank to twelve. Everything went to ruin.[2] 'Numbers of stipends and foundations,' wrote Ferdinand I on March 26, 1528, had 'fallen into flagrant disorder, abuse, and decay,' and for many years past those who had the management had kept no accounts and sent in no reports.'[3] What sort of a religious spirit had become dominant is seen from a declaration of the theological faculty sent up by the Bishops of Vienna in 1526, to the effect that they were unable any longer to undertake anything more in matters of the faith; their members were not even sure of their lives.[4] Since the year 1529 this faculty had for decades consisted only of two doctors; after 1549 it came gradually quite to an end.[5] The faculty of arts, which under Maximilian I had

[1] Aschbach, iii. 18. Kink, i[a]. 233, note, 270.

[2] Fuller details in *ibid.* i[a]. 253 ff.

[3] *Ibid.* i[b]. 140–141.

[4] *Ibid.* i[b]. 134, No. 30; cf. i[a]. 247.

[5] *Ibid.* i[a]. 248, 276. Cf. A. Wappler, *Gesch. der theologischen Fakultät zu Wien* (Vienna, 1884), p. 54 ff.

counted over one hundred docents, was now reduced to two or three; the juridical faculty became almost completely dissolved, and the faculty of medicine only barely kept itself going. In the colleges and bursars, those medieval institutions in which a number of students lived together under strict supervision of the rector, and were watched over in their work, all discipline and honour disappeared; many of them were left empty and came to be used as halting places for travelling journeymen; instead of studies being carried on in them, soldiers played there. Here as elsewhere the result of the religious revolution was to make study seem of little worth, and the writings of the philosophers Plato and Aristotle fit only to be thrown into the fire. Already in 1522 the university rector, Frederic Herrer, complained that 'scholars were now loaded with the hatred of the common people.' [1]

As the university, in spite of all Ferdinand's efforts, proved incapable of itself effecting a reorganisation of its demoralised condition, Ferdinand, as reigning prince, took the matter in hand himself, and in 1533, 1537, and 1554 respectively issued a number of reform regulations which aimed at a complete remodelling of the whole university system, and divested it entirely of its autonomic character, transforming it into a regular state institution, and placing it under the supervision of a government superintendent.[2]

[1] Kink, i². 253, 255; Aschbach, iii. 16-21.

[2] Fuller details are given in Kink, i². 258 ff.; Aschbach, iii. 22 ff. 'If,' says Kink (i². 278), 'we survey the newly organised institution and compare its present state with the flourishing, sound, wealthy condition it showed before the Church schism, we shall not be able to conceal from ourselves the fact that no actual reform has been effected, but only some fragments saved from the general wreckage.'

The flagrant idleness of some of the professors was an almost standing cause of complaint. In 1543 a stringent injunction was issued by the government that every professor must deliver at least forty-two lectures in the quarter-year, that is on an average three a week; overseers, paid for the purpose, were to watch the professors closely, and send in every quarter to the superintendent a list of the number of lessons given, or not given, by the professors, so that the deficit might be calculated. Six years later Ferdinand complained that some of the lecturers, especially those of the medical and juridical faculties, lectured only very seldom, and with very scant diligence. In 1556 Ferdinand issued a fresh ordinance by which it was decreed that the supervisors must send their lists to the superintendent every week. It then came out that from March 24 to June 24, 1557, the professor of grammar and the professor of Hebrew, to an audience of from three to five, had given only twenty-seven of the prescribed forty-two lectures, a professor of jurisprudence only twenty-four, and a third professor only nineteen.[1] That many of the professors pursued trades and other avocations is easily explained by the meagreness, and often even the uncertainty, of their pay.

In 1538 the revenue of the university amounted to about 2000 florins. When the government, in 1549, called on the magistrate of Vienna for help, he answered that 'although he fully appreciated the "splendid jewel" in which the Word of God and the holy Christian religion were taught, he had not been able, in spite of

[1] Kink, i[a]. 264, note, 314, and 1[b]. 160–161, 168–169, and ii. 404–405.

every consideration given to the matter, to discover "in his simple understanding," any means by which to help the university, seeing that he himself was burdened with excessive expenses.' In 1554 twelve 'professors of the liberal arts, of philosophy and languages' were receiving the collective sum of 1180 florins a year. In 1563, by means of taxes raised by the government, the total income of the university was increased to from 3000 to 4000 florins. The money, however, came in so irregularly that in 1588 the university made known to the government that 'Owing to poverty and the lack of their scanty salaries, the professors were obliged to give up their posts and to seek other employment.' In 1589 the revenues from the custom-houses at Ips and Stein amounted to 10,182 florins.[1]

It was one of the conditions of Ferdinand's will that this institution, according to her foundation charter, should continue to be an obedient daughter of the Church, keeping out of her board of teachers all heretical members, and only bestowing the degree of doctor on Catholic students. On the other hand, Ferdinand's successor, the Emperor Maximilian II, who was inclined to Protestantism, settled, at the beginning of September 1564, that it was no longer necessary for promotion to make a formal confession of the Roman Catholic faith, but that it was enough for the candidates simply to declare themselves Catholics and members of the Catholic Church.[2] This distinction opened up to the Protestants, who were very willing

[1] Kink, i[a]. 271 ff., 280–283, 340–341, and i[b]. 165.

[2] *Der katholische Charakter der Wiener Universität* ('A Memorandum of the Theological Faculty'), Vienna, 1863, pp. 52–64.

to be called 'Catholic,' free access to the posts of teachers. In 1568 there was issued a new imperial enactment, according to which adherents of the Augsburg Confession might also receive the dignity of 'doctor.' In this same year (1568), in order to remove every obstacle to the admission of Protestants the university rector, Caspar Piribach, did not scruple to falsify Ferdinand's reform ordinance, and to strike out the word 'Catholic' faith, and replace it by the word 'Christian' faith.[1] The university gradually acquired a thoroughly Protestant stamp; the rectors, deans and doctors, for the most part, belonged no more to the Catholic Church; at the election of the rector the theological faculty was altogether left out. Members of the university no longer had their relations' funerals conducted with Christian ceremonies, but let them be buried without priests, bells, candles or cross, and actually in peasant villages, 'as if they wanted to show contempt for the town, for its churches and for the Christian burial-grounds of their ancestors.'[2]

On the death of Maximilian II a 're-catholicisation' of the college was taken in hand under Rudolf II. On June 7, 1577, the university received a definite injunction to take no more part in the proceedings of the Vienna preachers; in the following year they were ordered to choose a Catholic rector, and when not-

[1] Kink, i[b]. 202.

[2] Thus in a Catholic enactment of March 11, 1572, it says, 'The funerals are to be solemnised in a Christian manner.' *Ibid.* i[b]. 188. ** At the burial of a student on April 9, 1575, the rector of the university, the anatomist Aicholz and three doctors acted against this order: cf. the decree of the Archduke Charles of April 15, 1575, in *ibid.* i[b]. 180; cf. also *Nachträge zu Aschbach*, i. 1, 15 f. Concerning the fruitless endeavours of Peter Canisius to stem the influence of the Protestant teachers at the Vienna University, cf. *ibid.* pp. 137–139.

withstanding they elected a Protestant, he was deposed by the Emperor.[1]

After the faculty of arts had refused the doctor's degree to several candidates because they wished to subscribe to the Catholic creed, an imperial edict was issued on July 2, 1581, by which Ferdinand's statute of January 1, 1554, respecting this confession was restored.[2] Several Protestant professors left the town in consequence. But 'on the whole the spirit of both teachers and learners was little altered.' Most of the professors of the medical faculty were deists; three of them, before their death in 1584, confessed that they 'belonged to no particular religion.'[3] In 1585 the will of the medical doctor Zingel was read in the consistorium of the university; in it he protested against a church burial.[4] In the faculty of jurisprudence George Eder was the only decided Catholic. The theological faculty was in such a melancholy condition that in the years 1576–1589 it could bestow no doctor's degrees at all.[5] In 1583 the university counted barely thirty students.[6]

A dismal description of the state of things is contained in a memorandum which the university chancellor, Melchior Khlesl, who had been appointed by the government, sent in to Archduke Matthias in 1591. The college, he said, was an entirely Catholic foundation, the greater number and the best of the scholarships were founded for clerical persons, but they were

[1] Kink, i[a]. 318–319. [2] *Ibid.* i[a]. 320 and ii. 414–415.

[3] '. . . ita mortui sunt, ut facilius gentiles quam Christiani aestimari possint,' say the Acts of the theological faculty, *ibid.* i[a]. 311, note.

[4] *Ibid.* Concerning the general collapse of the Catholic faith in Austria see our remarks, vol. viii. pp. 295–301.

[5] *Ibid.* i[b]. 317.

[6] Raupach, *Erläutertes evangelisches Österreich*, iii. 40.

never given by the sectarian professors to clerical persons; only the smallest number of the stipendiates had entered the clerical estate, and thus 'these stipendia had almost died out; indeed, at Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Tübingen, sectarian persons had actually been maintained by them.' In the consistorium the majority had consisted of professors who had outvoted the Catholics in everything, and had only elected men like-minded with themselves to the university posts; in the bursas, 'victimised by sectarian managers,' confession and communion, attendance at Mass, and keeping festivals had been altogether forbidden; instead of the prescribed sermons, scurrilous speeches against the Catholics had been delivered. The professors of the three secular faculties had woven into their lectures all sorts of doctrines and opinions highly injurious to the Church, and had often spent a whole hour in descanting on such things. He himself was personal witness that a professor of medicine in a public lecture had shamelessly made the statement that 'it was impossible to keep the law of chastity.' 'He spoke, moreover, so mockingly of religion, that a sectarian preacher could not have surpassed him in violence and disdain, and I, as chancellor, and other right-minded persons were obliged to reprehend him publicly.' In short, they brought things to such a pitch that all the old statutes 'together with Ferdinand's reform ordinance, would soon have gone to the ground.' Under such circumstances the only means of salvation was to abide firmly by the requirements of the Roman Catholic faith, and it was all the more advisable to do so as the Protestant universities of Wittenberg, Tübingen, Leipzig, and others had long ago made the

bestowal of an academic degree conditional on the profession of the Augsburg Confession.[1] In consequence of this memorandum, Archduke Matthias, on May 31, 1591, again enforced the regulation respecting the Catholic faith, but the Protestant party did not let itself be intimidated, and on the part of the university the religious injunctions laid down were by no means complied with. An order of the Archduke, of May 3, 1593, that the members of the university and their wives should not run after strange preachers, nor allow their children to be baptised by such men, had so little results that it had to be renewed on March 29, 1600.[2]

In the administration of the university funds, as well as in the management of the Bursas, utter chaos set in. On February 20, 1592, the government superintendent of the consistorium pointed out that 'for some time past everything, both in the archive department and in the chancellery, had been so disorderly, that it had been impossible to know what were the privileges and what the income belonging to the university.'[3] The consistorium itself, in a despatch to the dean of the juridical faculty, John Schwarzenthaler, who had openly confessed Lutheranism, animadverted on the fact that 'it had come to light that in the "Bursas of the Silesians" for some years past, there had been neither provisions nor stipendiaries, but that on the other hand all sorts of suspicious persons had been taken into the Chamber.' 'Evidence showed plainly,' wrote Archduke Matthias, on May 14, 1593, 'that for many years past there had not been

Kink, i[b]. 199–207; cf. i[a]. 321–322.

[2] *Ibid.* i[b]. 322, note, 423, and i[b]. 196, Nos. 3 and 4, 207–208.

[3] *Ibid.* i[a]. 345, note, 459.

present in a single Bursa the full number of stipends that had been founded; the managers had kept no accounts, and the stipends founded by private individuals had also not even been properly assigned; the money given for five stipends was still lying in the Vienna town coffers, and as to a stipendium of 3000 florins lately granted to a Bursa, the university had taken no notice of it whatever.' [1] Such was the state of dilapidation to which the university had come. It did not, however, blame itself, but the Jesuits, for its collapse.

On the decline of the philosophical and theological faculty, King Ferdinand, in 1550, conceived the plan of founding a Jesuit college at Vienna, 'in order,' as he wrote to the founder of the Order, Ignatius, 'to instruct young people in sacred lore, and to train them up to good conduct.' In the following year twelve Fathers came in; among these Claudius Jajus excited great admiration by his theological lectures. With the consent of the university the Jesuits opened a Latin school, then a Convikt for the sons of well-to-do parents, and in 1558 a collegium for poor students. In the same year Ferdinand established two chairs of theology at the university, and in 1559 placed them in a position to erect a private printing press.

At first the Fathers were received in a friendly manner by the university, but the more their numbers increased at the school, and the more zealously they worked for the establishment of the Catholic faith, the more envy and hostile feeling did they arouse against themselves. To a request from the university, in 1559,

[1] Kink, i'. 326, note, 426–427.

that all the schools and studies of the Jesuits should be under the control of the rector, Ferdinand replied that 'he did not intend to introduce anything fresh opposed to the institution of the Order.' Backed up by the privileges which Pope Julius III, in 1550, and Pius IV, in 1561, had granted the Order, and which had been recognised by King Ferdinand, the Jesuits, after severe examinations, bestowed on their pupils the degrees of doctor and bachelor. By so doing they excited violent opposition on the part of the university. While at the university the students were completely neglected as regards educational supervision and religious training, the Jesuits, in their schools at Vienna, as everywhere else, laid the greatest stress on discipline, and arranged all their instruction on a religious basis. In this way they gained the confidence of the Catholic parents, and their institutions were in such high favour that in 1588 they had over 800 pupils, while the university barely numbered eighty.[1] This 'superfluity' of the Jesuits, compared with its own 'pitiful penury,' constituted the chief grievance of the university. The Jesuits, it complained in a notification, October 12, 1593, addressed to the Emperor, 'had so entirely got possession of all scholars, stipendiaries, pedagogues, and auditors, that the professors were reduced to a very few auditors and candidates for degrees; the Fathers must be peremptorily inhibited from all their unrighteous encroachments and attempts as regards their

[1] Fuller details in Kink, i[a]. 304 ff., 332 ff. Zirngiebl (p. 284) allows that in contrast to the state of dilapidation into which discipline and morals at the Vienna college had fallen in 1550, 'the colleges of the Jesuits displayed extraordinary prosperity.' ** Concerning the labours of Blessed Peter Canisius in Vienna, and especially for the Vienna college, see *Nachträge zu Aschbach*, I. i. 128–156.

promotions, disputations, and so forth, or else the ruin of the university, with all its splendid privileges—papal, imperial, and sovereign—must inevitably ensue.' [1] The Jesuits, however, who had neither a juridical nor a medical faculty, could not possibly be to blame because these two faculties were generally very badly filled at the university, and because in the juridical faculty a promotion was a most rare event.[2] Specially noticeable was the appeal in the petition of grievances to the 'papal bulls and indulta,' about which the university itself for many decades had not concerned itself, unless as far as possible to antagonise them. How little the complainants were concerned to keep up an intellectual or moral competition with the Jesuits, even in time to come, is seen from numerous edicts which the government found itself obliged to issue in the following years. On January 11, 1597, the Archduke Matthias called the attention of the university to the fact that the town-watch 'was obliged, almost every night, to pick up all sorts of youngsters from the streets and the dung-heaps; these fellows say that they are schoolboys, but that they dare not go back to the schools unless they can take their collaborators every night a certain number of pennies, which pennies, however, they cannot earn every night by singing; and so for fear of the rod they are obliged to stay out in the streets.' The rector must see to it

[1] Kink, i. 208–215. 'It was undeniable,' said Kink (i[a]. 340), 'that the conditions of the time would not permit of two equally successful higher educational institutes in Vienna; one or other was bound to overbalance the other, but the inference that the stronger and more prosperous of the two should yield to the weaker, unprosperous one, or be reduced to a minimum for its sake, or to a harmless nonentity, could not be expected of the government.'

[2] Cf. *ibid.* i[b]. 332, note, 437.

that 'the poor schoolboys are not thus made to run the risk of injuring their health from exposure to cold, or of being led into bad ways.' Nevertheless, all injunctions and admonitions remained without effect. A government order of September 21, 1600, reiterated the charge that the students are so badly provided for, that many poor lads, dispersed about the streets, do not know where they may find a sleeping-place, and others, 'like the poor cattle, stand about in the cold at the risk of perishing.' On March 2, 1601, the government referred to the sight daily witnessed of 'the poor scholars in the Goldberg (one of the greatest foundation schools for poor students), and at St. Michael, running about all day long begging for alms, and incessantly molesting the people in all the churches and streets to take pity on them, and believe that they did not and could not study, because from morning to night they were obliged to beg in order to obtain the presentation money (two kreuzers a day for each one) to take to the helpers and collaborators.' As the university rector proved incapable of keeping up order and discipline, the government, on September 18, 1601, had all the poor scholars in the Goldberg removed from the town. Seven months before the Archduke Matthias had complained that 'the university houses were filled with foreign riffraff of all sorts; the Bursas were scarcely ever visited, the stipends were spent in wages to private servants.'[1] Business matters were treated with such negligence that in that very year, 1601, it had been necessary to remind the consistorium severely that it must hold at least two sittings a month. In the matriculation books one came constantly on

[1] Kink, i[a]. 326-327, note, 427-428.

remarks by the students, who, as nobody took any notice of them, were obliged to enter their names in the album themselves. So little regard was there for outward appearances that not one of the faculties had an official dress.'[1]

'A heavy stone of stumbling' for the dilapidated Vienna University was the college at Graz, founded in 1586 by the Archduke Karl, endowed with papal and imperial privileges, and handed over to the Jesuits. When the Fathers installed there sent up to the university, in 1592, the foundation deeds of the Archduke and the confirmation deeds of Rudolf II and Pope Sixtus V, asking in very courteous terms for the recognition of the college, the university returned them an angry refusal, accompanied with most unseemly language against the Archduke.[2]

The Graz college was munificently furnished by its founder and his son, Archduke Ferdinand, and displayed a thoroughly ecclesiastical character; the religious associations, especially the Marian congregation, developed rapidly.[3] Although the faculties of jurisprudence and medicine were lacking, the institute had, nevertheless, a goodly show of students. In 1594 the numbers amounted to nearly 600, in 1618 to about 1100.[4] The number of promotions increased with

[1] Kink, 1ª. 345.

[2] In a memorandum which they sent in, it says: 'Principes etenim praesumitur nolle praejudicare alteri, imo per simplicem concessionem factam non dicitur constare de mente Principis, sed *praesumetur potius circumventus* et concessionem fecisse per importunitatem, etiam quando concessio illa facta esset motu proprio vel ex certa scientia.' *Ibid.* iª. 336 note, 443.

[3] Fuller details in Krones, pp. 236 ff., 282 ff. A scheme of lectures for the Graz University of the year 1579, in Pachtler, i. 247.

[4] Krones, pp. 294–297.

almost every year; in 1587 there were sixteen, in 1593 twenty-four, in 1607 forty bachelors of philosophy.[1] Not until the time of the Thirty Years' War, from 1629, are any serious excesses on the part of the students, nocturnal raids, and rowdyism entered in the year-books of the college; the oldest disciplinary statute still extant belongs to the year 1630.[2]

As at Graz, so in the college at Dillingen, the Jesuits took up an entirely free attitude, and here, too, they achieved great results.[3] This high school was in connexion with the 'Collegium of St. Hieronymus,' which the Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, Cardinal Otto von Truchsess, had founded in 1549, 'partly in order to train up boys for the clerical estate to serve in his diocese, partly to train other young students for their future callings.' In 1551 Pope Julius III bestowed on the institution 'all the privileges, rights, liberties, and immunities' of a university, and these were confirmed two years later by the Emperor Charles V. In 1554 the Prince-Bishop Otto issued most stringent regulations for the students, justifying his measures by reference to the general melancholy condition of morality which, to the ruin of Church and State, prevailed in almost all the universities. In Dillingen itself, coarseness and licentiousness, transgression and crime, showed themselves repeatedly; even murder was not one of the rarest offences. In 1564, in spite of opposition from the cathedral chapter, Otto handed over to the Jesuits

[1] Krones, p. 366. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 20 ff., 328 ff.

[3] ** Cf. the exhaustive work of Specht, *Gesch. der ehemaligen Universität Dillingen*, Freiburg, 1902, which is a regular mine of biographical notices of the professors who worked at Dillingen.

the institute, on which he had spent nearly his whole fortune and income; and in the following year he placed the 'Collegium of St. Hieronymus' also under their direction. This college was transformed into a clerical seminary or 'Convict.' In the very first years the academy and the 'Convict' both gained such high repute that Duke Albert V of Bavaria wrote, on February 2, 1567, to the Pope, that he hoped as great things from this nursery garden of clergymen, this chaste training-place of noble and independent youngsters, as from all the collective schools of the other bishops of Germany, because from its precincts there would go forth men who, besides being thoroughly well instructed, were also equipped with the purest morals.[1] At Dillingen, as everywhere else, the Jesuits went on the principles which they had set forth in 1564, in an address to the students: 'Religion must permeate learning and science, and make them fruitful; without it they are not only useless but dangerous. Those who separate the study of languages from the exercises of religion, eloquence from wisdom, philosophy from morality, are the worst enemies to Christian society. All the more, therefore, do we consider it our duty to put forth our whole might, to strive with all industry, zeal, and diligence, as faithful sculptors of Christian models should do, for the preservation of the pure doctrine and the cultivation of spotless morals, for the union of knowledge and piety, for maintaining the balance between the study of human and of divine knowledge.' 'The students must become

[1] Haut, pp. 5 ff., 66–67; cf. B. Duhr, 'Reformbestrebungen des Kardinals Otto Truchsess von Waldburg,' in the *Histor. Jahrb. der Görres-Gesellschaft*, vii. 372 ff.

accustomed in their earliest years to keep up a close relation between their training in knowledge and in good morals, in order that they may become useful members both of the Fatherland and of the Church, and also, which is of the first importance, live virtuously and happily, to the eternal glory of Jesus Christ.' [1] In educational respects the Marian congregations, called into being towards the end of the sixteenth century by the Jesuits at Dillingen and elsewhere, exercised an influence wonderfully rich in blessing.[2] The institute became of great importance as regards the reform of the monasteries. The number of the students, among whom there were a good many Protestants, grew almost with every year. Concerning his two years' stay at Dillingen (1586–1587) the Calvinist poet Fortunatus von Juvalta, bailiff at Fürstenau, in the Grisons, writes as follows: 'I devoted myself in the Jesuit college of this place to the study of rhetoric, logic, and philosophy, with results by no means wholly regrettable. Here there is no need to fear that youngsters will be infected or corrupted by vicious intercourse, for all the students are kept within bounds by narrow and strict school discipline; no one has free control over his money, none dare leave the college, or incur useless or unnecessary expenses; none of them are allowed to wear costly clothes, and by such an example encourage harmful luxury, or bring heavy and unnecessary expenses on their parents. The instructional methods of the Jesuits, their industry and their

[1] Haut, pp. 36, 39.

[2] ** Cf. Niederegger, *Der Studentenband der Marianischen Sodalitäten, sein Wesen und Wirken an der Schule*, Ratisbon, 1884. See especially p. 23 f. concerning Dillingen.

watchful care, I can only praise and approve. But I could not advise any disciple of the reformed religion to send his children to them for education, for with all their energy they are always at work instilling and inculcating the errors and superstitions of the papists into the minds of the pupils, and when once these have taken deep root they cannot easily be removed or eradicated.' [1] 'The Dillingen Jesuits,' said a Protestant controversialist in 1593, 'are verily to be regarded as the most dangerous ones in the Empire, for they are beyond measure learned and indefatigable in teaching and preaching, and they are more than any others instigated by the devil to use all means and arts for making the young and the adults also believe in the idolatrous papacy; they snatch away souls unnumbered from the evangel, and for all their distinguished following they are such desperate villains that it is not easy to get the better of them.' [2]

The academy and the Convict were maintained by wealthy bequests. Thus, for instance, James Curtius, prebendary at Constance, paid the expenses of eight alumni after 1581, which came to from eighty to a

[1] '. . . Illic verendum non est, ne juvenes contagione vitiorum inficiantur aut corrumpantur; disciplina enim arcta et severa coercentur omnes: nulli pecuniarum usus conceditur, nulli collegium egredi, sumptusque inutiles et non necessarios facere licet; nulli vestes sumptuosae permittuntur, ne exemplo alios ad fastum concitante noceant et parentes profusione filiorum plus aequo graventur. Illorum ego in docendo methodum, industriam et diligentiam laudo et probo: nemini tamen religionem reformatam profitenti suaderem, ut liberos suos illuc instituendos mitteret: assidue enim totis viribus laborant, ut juvenibus papisticas corruptelas et superstitiones inculcent et imprimant, quae, ubi altiores radices egerint, haud facile evelli et exstirpari possunt.' Fortunati a Juvalta Raeti Commentarii vitae et selecta poemata (*Curiae Raetorum*, 1823) p. 4, quoted by Steichele, *Archiv für die Geschichte des Bistums Augsburg*, i. 495.

[2] See our remarks, vol. ix. p. 374 f.

hundred florins per head. A pastor from Tannhäuser, in the Riess, presented to the seminary the sum of 10,000 florins; about 3000 florins had flowed in yearly from Rome since Gregory XIII had connected a papal alumnate with the Convict.[1] Towards the end of the century the academy numbered about 600 students, in 1605 about 730, and two years later 760; in 1608 the number of 'Convictores' rose to 250, among whom were 118 members of different Orders. Besides Hebrew other Oriental languages were also taught.[2]

The flourishing development of the Dillingen university was equalled by that of the university of Würzburg. Here, in 1561, Bishop Frederick of Wirsberg had erected a gymnasium, which in a pastoral letter to his diocesans he earnestly entreated them to visit.[3] Two years later, however, it was closed,[4] and, in 1567, it was handed over to the Jesuits and reopened as a regular Jesuit institute. Twenty-four scholars were to be fed and taught gratis, and the sons of well-to-do parents were to pay a small fee. From the very first the school was so well attended that, in 1568, there were already complaints from the cathedral chapter that 'the cathedral school was being thinned by the Jesuits, and falling into disrepute.'[5] Bishop Julius

[1] Haut, pp. 67, 73, 81. M. Hausmann, *Gesch. des päpstlichen Alumnates in Dillingen*, Dillingen, 1883, p. 10 ff.

[2] See our remarks, vol. ix. p. 314 f. Steichele, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Bistums Augsburg*, i. 14–15, 55, 63. Lipowsky, *Gesch. der Jesuiten in Schwaben*, i. 173, 178. Pachtler, i. 357, note 2, 359, and iii. 186 ff. ** The importance of the Dillingen Jesuit college is strikingly shown by its high number of promotions as compared with other universities; see Horn, 'Die Promotionen an der Dillingen Universität von 1555 bis 1760,' in the Innsbruck *Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie*, 1897, p. 448 ff.

[3] Wegele, *Die Universität Würzburg*, ii. 38–39.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 100–101.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 114–118.

Echter, of Mespelbrunn, one of the most prominent princes of the century, expanded the new institute, in 1582, into a university.[1] Three colleges founded by Julius, in 1585, were connected with this same institute: the Collegium Kilianum, for the training of priests; the Collegium Marianum, for any pupils who did not feel themselves called to the clerical estate; and the Collegium Pauperum, for forty poor young scholars.[2] There was also a separate house for the jurists, built after the fashion of a Bursa.[3] When the bishop, on January 1, 1607, added a fourth collegium, for young nobles without means, who wished to train for theologians or jurists, he alluded in the foundation charter, with the greatest satisfaction, to the abundantly

[1] Concerning the numerous hindrances from the cathedral chapter which Julius had to overcome in founding his college, see fuller details in Wegele, i. 191 ff. ** See also Wegele's article on the foundation brief of the university of Würzburg in the *Allg. Zeitung*, Beil. No. 99 of April 29, 1890. Cf. further Braun, *Gesch. der Heranbildung des Klerus in der Diöcese Würzburg*, Würzburg, 1889; Kerler, *Die Statuten der philosophischen Facultät der Universität Würzburg und ihre früheste Fassung*, Würzburg, 1898. The papal diplomat, Minutio Minucci, who was intimately acquainted with German affairs, took a lively interest in the Würzburg college, and built great hopes upon it. In his memorandum on the condition of the Church in Germany in 1588 he said: 'Una [università] si è eretta di nuovo dal vescovo di Herbipoli in quella città con maggior fabrica et con conveniente dotatione, ma non s'ha ancora acquistato credito, et gran difficultà si prova in provederle di buoni professori; doveria però di ragione crescere, sendo ella si può dir nel centro di Alemagna in paese commodo per la navigatione de fiumi, ameno, salubre et fertilissimo de grani et de vini, con abbondanza mirabile di tutte le cose necessarie del vivere.' *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, third part, i. 763.

[2] Cf. concerning these three foundations the despatch of the bishop of January 2, 1589, in Wegele, ii. 208–209. ** 'Die ältesten Statuten des geistlichen Seminars zu Würzburg (1668),' see *ibid.* pp. 234–245, and in Pachtler-Duhr, iv. 294–308; the 'Hausordnung des Wirzburger Seminars zum hl. Kilian unter Leitung der Gesellschaft Jesu' (after 1608), Wegele, pp. 308–315.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 212.

blessed results of the first colleges, as, indeed, of the whole university.[1] The lectures of the philosophical and theological faculties were from the first in the hands of the Jesuits, and only a short time after the founding of the university they were attended by nearly 900 students, among whom there were a number of foreigners, especially Poles.[2] This university, like those of Graz and Dillingen, preserved a strictly religious character. After the year 1586 the professors and students had joined together to form a Marian congregation, which congregation was incorporated in the Marian congregation at Rome.[3] It cannot be said that among the students at Würzburg, street riots, frays, and quarrels with the burghers were unknown, but such occurrences, to judge from the documentary acts of the college, were by no means so frequent as at most other universities. In 1590 it became necessary to forbid innkeepers 'to receive students who had either been expelled from the institute, or who had excluded themselves, or to let their inns be used for drinking carousals.'[4] In 1597 the rector issued a penal order against the students, in respect to overrunning and damaging the vineyards; at the same time he

[1] Jam vero scholas, gymnasia, academiam denique nostram non minori Dei benignitate tanta incrementa brevi annorum spatio sumpsisse perspicimus, ut in omni scientiarum genere sive docentium sive discentium claritatem, frequentiam et ex orbe Christiano accursum et celebritatem et ex his omnibus in ecclesiam redundantem utilitatem si perpendamus, in gratiarum actiones et venerationem tam propitii numinis mens nostra colliquescat.' Wegele, ii. 229. He goes on: 'At, quae in pauperum usum ac sustentationem collegia trina struximus et ita dotavimus, ut in iis perpetuum fere viceni supra centum honeste educentur ac erudiantur, ex iis singulari quoque Dei beneficio fructum jam percepimus eum, ut pleraque omnia templa, sacella ac parochiae dioecesis nostrae a sacerdotibus, alumnis nostris, rite administrentur.' Wegele.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 303. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 304–305. [4] *Ibid.* p. 307.

threatened two mutually hostile members of the jurists' house with a fine of 200 ducats, and even corporal punishment, if they did not desist from hostilities.[1] In 1596 there occurred a serious case of wounding, and one of stabbing to death; in 1618, a serious public scandal and a case of wounding.[2] Duke William V of Bavaria, in a letter of 1602, referred to the strictness of the discipline which prevailed at Dillingen and Würzburg, as compared with the want of discipline at Ingolstadt.[3]

At Ingolstadt, in the very first decade after the founding of the college, there were serious complaints about the behaviour of the masters and the students. The Bavarian ducal councillors, in 1488, had very emphatically blamed the negligence of the professors in the faculty of jurisprudence: owing to all sorts of other pursuits, they wrote, these men neglect their lectures, and take such frequent holidays that during half the year there are scarcely any lectures at all; they also fail to hold the disputations which are prescribed, because 'they are not accustomed to argue on both sides.'[4] How much idleness and neglect prevailed also in other faculties is seen from the proposal of a ducal commission of examination of 1497, that 'the theologians and jurists should be allowed to miss ten lectures in every six months, and the medical doctors twenty in the same space of time; but that for every further omission there should be a deduction in their salaries.'[5] The complaints, however, were not confined to these omissions of duty. 'When the

[1] Wegele, ii. 221–222, Nos. 86 and 87. [2] *Ibid.* i. 308–309, 324–325.
[3] Prantl, ii. 351–353. [4] *Ibid.* i. 70, 73–74, and ii. 95 f.
[5] *Ibid.* i. 103.

Duke, in 1488,' said his councillors, 'had the university inspected by certain unprejudiced persons, it became evident how altogether irregularly, and with how much shame and iniquity, many transactions were carried on, against God, honour, and right.' 'The children of pious parents were neglected, and left without any discipline or exercises to teach them good conduct, learning, and other matters, and thus they fell into great danger.'[1] Owing to the laxity of the rector in keeping up discipline, George Zingl, professor of theology, as early as 1497, had wished for the appointment of a government superintendent. At Ingolstadt, as at other universities, nightly disturbances and riots and sexual offences were not rare among the students; in 1514, in consequence of a bodily injury inflicted by a student on an innkeeper, 300 to 400 burghers had taken up arms one night.[2] Complaints were also made at Ingolstadt of the violation of the stringent order against fine clothing. The students, said the councillors in 1488, seemed bent, to judge from their new-modish, showy apparel, 'on imitating women who, whenever they see anything new, want to have it, as we know to our cost with the women at Ingolstadt; anyone who compared the men nowadays with those of sixteen years ago would think they were as monkeys to men.'[3] The goings-on in the Bursas also gave occasion for much complaining: the students had to be forbidden squandering of money, gambling, and other similar iniquities.[4] All these crimes and misdemeanours increased and multiplied after the out-

[1] Prantl, ii. 95–96.
[2] *Ibid.* i. 96, 103, 107, 149.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 97–98.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 137.

break of the religious disturbances, and the collapse of all Church and State authority.

The Bursas at Ingolstadt, like those of Vienna, fell into the most chaotic condition. In the 'Collegium Georgianum,' one of the Bursas founded by Duke George the Rich, in 1494, for poor students, such a state of anarchy set in that, in 1531, nobody could be persuaded to take over its management; in the following year a regular rising of the stipendiates took place. In 1555 twelve students gave evidence concerning their governor that 'he was always, day and night, in the company of the female cash-keeper, and the matron and their maids; that he was careless in keeping accounts, provided very bad food, was in the habit of "striking the stipendiates on the mouth," or allowed himself to be bribed for favours.'[1] 'The only chance of putting a stop to the growing corruption,' wrote Hieronymus Leist, in 1555, 'was to restore the ancient discipline in the Bursas, and to insist on the students residing in them, instead of living independently in the town.'[2]

[1] Prantl, i. 214 ff., 338.

[2] '. . . Nec est, ut aliquis dicat, alia nunc tempora alios etiam postulare mores; fateor, multum condonandum tempori; coacti tamen et fatebuntur, contuberniis abolitis tamquam fenestris apertis juventuti ea libertate et permissione occasionem ad multa vitia datam esse, quemadmodum ex nimia indulgentia continuo magis ac magis corrumpuntur. . . . Cum adolescentes in contuberniis sub praeceptoribus coercerentur, multo minus erat vitiorum occasio, quam nunc, cum passim in variis civitatis angulis sine praeceptore, in contuberniis quandoque vinariis habitent et apud caupones mensam habeant, ut alter alterum facillime inducat et seducat; et cum nemo in hos animadvertat, securi in pessimas labuntur consuetudines et errores, ut interim temporis et sumptuum jactura taceatur. Id nimis verum experimur. Ob hoc in primis mihi consultum videtur, ut prima sit cura, ut habeantur collegia et contubernia, ubi plures stare possint. Unicum hoc mihi videtur pro emendatione morum esse remedium, modo apti et docti etiam adhibeantur praeceptores.' *Ibid.* ii. 195–196.

The theological faculty, which 'more than the three secular faculties was called upon to promote and maintain order and discipline,' had, after the death of John Eck († 1543), only one professor, Leonard Marstaller; and after his death, in 1546, there was none at all for some time. A newly appointed professor of theology is briefly described, in a committee report of 1555, as 'given to drinking,' while against the name of a second in the same report stands the comment: 'Laziness and improper intercourse with women.'[1]

The ducal government, which had long ceased to regard the demoralised university as an independent body, but had taken it over as a State institute under its own control, was open-mouthed in its complaints of the abuses prevalent in it. Thus, for instance, Duke Albert V wrote, on December 19, 1555: 'Many times reports have come to our ears of the great defects, abuses, and crimes which are disgracing our university at Ingolstadt: some of the professors appear to be guilty of great indolence; the magisters and preceptors neglect the young pupils terribly, do not preserve them in the fear of God, in good discipline, and diligent learning, but let them grow up with uncontrolled wills, and give more time to public-houses, society, or private study than to the young. Those young men who stay on there on their own account, and study by themselves without tutors, especially certain canons and others, who maintain themselves on benefices and gifts dedicated to God, lead most improper and reprehensible lives, squander money and time, deceive their parents, guardians, friends, and elders, lead astray an appalling number of other innocent youngsters, and incite them

[1] Prantl, i. 187, 305 note, 277, 280.

to idleness and vice. Our two colleges have fallen into such disorder that they very often stand quite empty, and the stipendiates cannot carry on their studies according to the design of the foundation, and are left to fall into bad ways and idleness.'[1]

For the purpose of removing these abuses another 'reform ordinance' was issued, and, in 1556, a college was erected for the Jesuits, whom the Duke regarded as 'admirable preachers and instructors of youth, and also as shining lights of sacerdotal life.' Two Fathers held lectures in the theological faculty, and two others, by desire of the Duke, in the philosophical faculty; the professors of the last-named faculty, however, looked on these Fathers as 'intruders.'[2] The

[1] Prantl, ii. 198–199; cf. the reform edict of 1562 in Von Freyberg, iii. 229, note 2.

[2] Prantl, i. 224 ff. Prantl, who (i. 141) lays down as a requirement for an 'historian of the Ingolstadt university' that he should have 'acquired and preserved the indispensable qualification of a wholly unprejudiced mind,' also that he should be able 'to relate disagreeable events in a businesslike manner' without favouring either party, says (p. 220) that 'the unpleasant interference of the Jesuits' is 'in itself already an immeasurable misfortune' for the university, for it is a question here 'of the influence of an institute of public danger, an institute by which each one of its members, consciously or unconsciously, in a greater or lesser degree was inoculated with an element of evil'; the rulers of Bavaria ought to have protected the university, 'the noblest jewel of the land,' from such poison. 'In the Marian congregations' introduced by the Jesuits 'the history of the institute' (according to p. 268) 'has to deal with yet another agency of general corruption, invented by the Jesuits.' In a proposal of the Jesuits in 1585 that 'the salaries of the jurists should be augmented and a jurist of renown appointed as lecturer,' Prantl (p. 265) sees 'a vile intention,' because forsooth 'the juridical faculty always took up a hostile attitude towards the Jesuits'! ** Against Prantl, cf. also *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, cv. (1890) 378 f., as also Ch. Verdiere, *Histoire de l'université d'Ingolstadt*, Paris, 1887, 2 vols. Against the assertion of Prantl that most of the Ingolstadt professors of the Jesuit Order were mere nonentities, the first superior of the Historical Union at Eichstätt Lyceum, Professor Romstöck, librarian of the Eichstätt Lyceum, published in 1897 a book of 524 pages, '*Die Jesuitennullen Prantls an der Universität*

decided Catholic position of the members of the Order was by no means in conformity with the wishes of the dominant party at the university. The oath on the Tridentine Creed, which Pope Pius IV, soon after the conclusion of the Council, had prescribed for all Catholic educational institutions, was not considered 'opportune' on the part of the senate. It had already been a matter of complaint, in 1564, from the faculty of arts, that the Jesuits, by requiring this oath from every fresh student, caused exasperation and helped on the decline of the university.[1] In November 1567 the majority in the senate, as a plain proof of their feelings, informed the Duke that 'The Papal Bull, which prescribed the new oath, had not been sent to the university, and was, therefore, probably not intended for it'; besides which 'many loyal Catholics,' 'for fear of perjury,' objected to taking this oath; for the faithful the oath was unnecessary, for the wavering it was a cause of regular apostasy.[2] But the Duke, although he himself at that time still feared that compulsion in the matter of this oath might easily lead to outward drawbacks, possibly diminish the number of students and of promotions, insisted emphatically on its being taken, and threatened all resistance to it with dismissal from office. The fears entertained proved, in the future, to be groundless.[3]

Ingolstadt, in which he examines Prantl's assertion critically. His method is a biographical one, and after a short account of each one of the Jesuits who had held a professorship at the Ingolstadt university, he gives a catalogue of all the writings of these men which are still extant, either in print or in manuscript. And the result is that Professor Romstöck establishes fundamentally and exhaustively the ignorance and injustice of Prantl.

[1] Prantl, i. 229.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 272.

[3] Cf. below, p. 248.

In 1571 the Duke had made over to the Jesuits the 'Pädagogium' (a kind of gymnasium preparatory to university studies and the philosophical course), founded in 1526, 'in order,' he said, 'that those students who had no tutors should not live according to their own caprice, or fall into bad ways; the public lecturers on philosophy were not to suffer detriment, owing to there being two separate instructional institutes, and the parents were not to be baulked in their free choice concerning their sons' studies.' [1]

Nevertheless, the members of the university entertained the darkest apprehensions respecting the Jesuits. It was necessary, they signified to the Duke, to be careful lest they themselves should be driven out by these people, or made into their slaves, and lest everything should go to ruin; it was not to be expected that the professors would serve as 'hangmen and jailers to the Jesuits, and live in constant fear of denunciation and snares'; moreover, the negligence of the Jesuits in instruction was already universally known. The Duke thereupon gave the following decisive answer: 'The secular professors would no doubt be very glad to feel sure that his hands were tied from injuring them; if things were not according to their liking, let them remember that hitherto all commands, reforms, &c., had not led to the desired result, and that by their own want of diligence they had forfeited the right to blame others: it was only out of malice prepense that they were raising this cry and leading the young astray.' [2]

[1] Prantl, i. 205, 232–235. ** Concerning the year in which the 'Pädagogium' was made over to the Jesuits, cf. the remark in the *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, cv. (1890) 376, note 1.

[2] Prantl, i. 236–245.

This only roused them to greater exasperation. 'The Jesuits,' they said, 'wanted to draw everything to themselves and rule everywhere; they were now bestirring themselves to get the management of the Georgianum, while they did not even look after their pupils in the "Pädagogium," either spiritually or physically, for they gave them such bad food and drink that they became ill and sickly; if the Georgianum was given over to them they would be made lords of the university; ambition and jealousy were always at work with them. If they pretend that the university board is head of the institution, they mean only a head cut off from the body, which is nothing more than a name; the rector is reduced by them to a facsimile of the Sesselkönig (easy-chair king) Hilperich, a figure-head, pressing down his bench or stool until it pleases the Pope to shave his crown and send him off. It is of no use, moreover, to fix definite limits to their authority, for this vermin creeps in everywhere.'[1]

In order to put a stop to these unpleasantnesses and dissensions the Jesuit Provincial—not exactly moved by the 'terrible thirst for power' of the Order—proposed to the Duke to transfer the pedagogic and philosophical schools, managed by the Fathers, to Munich, and to restore at Ingolstadt the former condition of things. On the Duke's acceding to this proposal the Jesuits closed their schools, in 1573, and went away; only two of the Fathers in the theological faculty stayed on as professors. The university's complaint that the Jesuits had neglected their pupils spiritually and physically proved to have little foundation, for with their teachers 'a multitude of pupils

[1] Prantl, pp. 248–254

left Ingolstadt, so that the college itself was in danger of collapse.' Thus it came to pass that those very members of the senate who, in 1572, had so strongly protested against becoming 'slaves, hangmen, and jailers to the Jesuits,' in September 1575 sent special delegates to the Duke to beg him to call the Jesuits back.

In response to this entreaty the Jesuits, in 1576, found themselves back again at Ingolstadt, and undertook anew the direction of the pedagogium and the philosophic course, on the condition that they should enjoy equal rights with the professors of the philosophic faculty, and that the students should be at full liberty to attend their lectures or those of other teachers.[1] Besides the Georgianum college, which remained under the university, the Duke erected, as a 'Priests' Seminary,' the 'Collegium Albertinum,' which he placed under the direction of the Jesuits. In 1588 the reigning sovereign also placed under their control the entire faculty of arts.

From this time the attendance at the university increased considerably. Whereas the number of students up to 1550 had been about 400, and then, chiefly owing to the activity of the Jesuits, had been raised, by 1589, to about 500, after 1589 it went up to 600; in 1616 the enrolment list, with 339 fresh incoming students, reached its highest mark.[2]

[1] Von Freyberg, iii. 238–239, 339–342.

[2] Prantl, i. 101, 164, 275, 377. ** Concerning the labours of the Jesuits at Ingolstadt, see also Riezler, *Geschichte Bayerns*, iv. 411 ff., 561 ff. 'Compared with the demoralised Bavarian clergy,' says Riezler, who is certainly no friend of the Jesuits (iv. 411), 'these strangers, full of learning and piety, distinguished by the purity of their morals and also by their "man-of-the-world" polish, must have made an overpowering impression. From such men it was to be expected that they would by degrees train up a race of first-rate indigenous clergy.'

That this increase was not to the profit of the juridical and medical faculties, that, on the contrary, these two faculties had to report a decrease in their audiences,[1] was not, as the respective professors complained, the fault of the Jesuits, but of circumstances which are clearly shown in the numerous government enactments and ordinances that were issued.

In the first place, at Ingolstadt, as at Vienna, the 'great negligence' of the professors in constantly omitting lectures, as well as their frequent unauthorised absences during the school year, gave continued occasion for complaints. Ducal orders issued against these delinquencies, in 1555, 1561, 1564, 1576, and 1577, had no result. Not one single admonition, however stringent, said Albert, in 1577, had borne any fruit: 'everything remained in the same irregular condition; no penalty had ever been inflicted for omission of lectures.'[2] The professors certainly do not show up favourably in the light of these ordinances.

Under Albert's successor things took even a worse turn. When Duke William V, in September 1584, went to Ingolstadt in person, he informed the senate of all that he had done for the university since his accession in 1579. At great and heavy costs, he said, he had provided the college with handsome and commodious buildings, and by augmentation of their salaries and other marks of favour had endeavoured to spur on the professors to greater diligence in the matter of lecturing. However, his experience had more and more convinced him that all his efforts had been of little avail with most of the professors; that the latter had not only not improved, but had even become more

[1] Prantl, i. 377. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 198, 233, 245–246, 300, 308–309.

negligent and idle than ever before; in consequence of which the university had fallen into great disrepute, both at home and abroad. He had expected far better things from the professors, 'as learned gentlemen, who ought to remember what was fitting and what duty demanded of them, and he should also not fail, since kindness and admonition had been useless, to adopt other measures towards the delinquents at the opportune time.' In order to see how the professors gave their lectures, the vice-chancellor and the deans were desired to attend the lectures unexpectedly from time to time, and also to inform themselves from learned scholars as to how they were supplied with instruction, or else to appoint an overseer, 'who should watch secretly over such matters,' and report to the vice-chancellor before the payment of the salaries.[1] But it was all in vain. In 1585 the Duke, under threat of severest displeasure, once more uttered the strongest reproaches for the non-observance of his orders and admonitions; the sittings of the senate also were so badly attended, that ordinary business was often left to the settlement of only two or three members.[2]

The most frequent occasion for complaint was given by the very faculty which had raised the loudest cry against the 'unjust encroachments' of the Jesuits,

[1] Prantl, pp. 320–321. On January 20, 1561, Frederic Staphylus, who had been appointed government superintendent of the university, had already been enjoined that: the superintendent and the treasurer were to appoint two students, with convenient salary and put under oath, to keep daily watch over the professors, and send in a weekly list of the lectures delivered or not delivered by them during the week, so that the necessary deductions from the salaries might be calculated. *Ibid.* p. 233.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 291. 'A whole convolute of university archives from 1585–1596 bears witness to innumerable omissions of lectures,' i. 291, note.

viz. the juridical faculty.[1] With full justice the Jesuits could defend themselves by pointing out that the juridical faculty might well, also, be to blame for the falling off of university attendance, for its professors were exceptionally remiss; of philosophy and theology students there was no lack; it was very convenient to make the Jesuits answerable for the failure of the juridical faculty, while they forgot their own delinquencies, which had only lately fallen under the censure of Duke Albert.[2]

In no less unfavourable a light does the university appear as regards the management of its income. In a ducal 'Recess,' published concerning it on November 17, 1577, it says: 'The treasury accounts are quite disgraceful in respect of some of the outlays.' 'As regards the cash accounts of the college it would seem as if for some time past the object had been to keep no balance in hand, but to fork out everything all at once; capital to the amount of 1000 florins had already been squandered, and it seemed as if the professors were of opinion that all the funds of the university were in their power to do exactly what they pleased with them'; endowed income was given away at their pleasure; at the expense of the university tips were given at meals and social entertainments, beggars and strangers of all sorts received charity, and it was certainly unsuitable that 'the common purse of the college should be drawn upon, when certain of the professors indulged in jollifications at meal-times and at festivities.'[3]

[1] We shall return to this later on in the section 'Juridical Study and Jurisprudence.'

[2] Prantl, i. 366–367.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 311. The coffer of the faculty of arts 'was in a bad way' (1583); they feasted at the expense of the government (*ibid.* i. 326).

In 1586 there were renewed complaints that 'The cash and exchequer accounts of the university were incorrect and altogether chaotic; above all, the accounts of the faculty of arts were quite disgraceful.' [1] In 1601 the plenipotentiaries of the Duke reported that 'For ten years the university cashiers had kept no accounts.' [2]

No less flagrant was the neglect and indifference respecting the moral conduct of the students. 'Our collegium here,' wrote the Jesuit Father Canisius, on January 6, 1577, from Ingolstadt to the Order-general Mercurian, 'cannot yield the fruits of usefulness which we reaped at Dillingen, because its power over the students is very limited. We suffer here from very great insubordination, which makes the university infamous in the eyes of foreigners. Possibly, however, some means will gradually be found for putting a stop to this evil state of things. We believe that it is our duty to exercise patience.' [3]

How much coarseness and licentiousness went on n the 'Collegium Georgianum,' which at no cost

[1] Prantl, ii. 328. [2] *Ibid.* p. 350.

[3] Unprinted; in the archives at Exaeten in Holland. From the superiors of the convents, who often sent monks in considerable numbers as teachers to Ingolstadt, the Jesuits received high praise. Thus, for instance, the abbot, Petrus Paulus, apostolic inspector of the Bavarian Benedictine convent, wrote on June 16, 1594, from Ratisbon to P. Richard Haller, rector of the college at Ingolstadt: '. . . Volo, ut monachi studeant praesertim in vestro collegio, quia non inveni praestantiores monachos, quam qui apud vos studuerint; volo, ut omnia monasteria habeant monachos, qui istic instruantur.' Letter of the abbot in the State library at Munich, Cod. Cat. 26477 (at the beginning; the Codex is not paged). In 1586 there were studying together at Ingolstadt at the same time 300 'religious' from Bavarian cloisters. Cf. *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, lxix. 811. In closer connexion with Ingolstadt was the educational institute at Eichstätt, founded by Bishop Martin in 1564, for instruction in philosophy and theology, richly fitted up and supplied with first-rate teachers; cf. Von Freyberg, iii. 232, 269.

would the university place under the direction of the Jesuits, is shown by the nature of the laws repeatedly enacted for it. In 1565 the steward had to be enjoined not to drink till he was tipsy, or to use the kitchen for assignations of all sorts, or to let it be used for dancing; in the reform proposals for 1587 it was decreed, among other things, that no womankind was in future to come into the college; also all drinking bouts, by day or night, were to be most strictly prohibited, and all cases of drunkenness were to be severely punished; in the years 1596 and 1598, when the accounts were examined, it was seen 'how disgraceful was the domestic management in the institute.' [1]

Among the students the jurists were specially notorious for their unruly, turbulent ways, and it was not without reason that the Jesuits, in 1571, feared lest their depravity should bring dire corruption on the whole university.[2] The government had incessantly to complain of nocturnal disturbances and riots—ending sometimes in loss of life—as well as of disgraceful drinking bouts; it was the scholars of the juridical faculty, said a ducal edict issued on February 10, 1582, 'grown-up persons and foreigners, who caused the most rumours and disturbances.' [3] In 1595 there was a rising against the Jesuits; [4] in the same year we find

[1] Prantl, i. 341–342, 393, 445, and ii. 254–256, 336–337.

[2] In a memorandum of the Jesuits, dated 1571, it says: 'Nisi major adhibeatur cautela, quam hactenus, magnam pravitatem morum importabunt scandalosi et dissoluti illi studiosi juris in facultatem theologicam et artisticam, habebiturque sicut ante ita etiamnunc ac deinceps Ingolstadiana universitas apud cordatos et sapientes infamis et mater omnis corruptelae potius, quam ingenuae disciplinae cultrix et amatrix.' *Ibid.* ii. 270.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 288, 298, 347–348, 449. Von Freyberg, iii. 229, note 2, 249.

[4] Prantl, i. 449, note, 373.

mention in the university acts of a student session called 'Zum Brand' (for incendiary purposes) whose ten members consumed together on one occasion 126, and on another 135 measures of wine, and were guilty of such extreme misconduct in the streets that the night-watchers threw up their posts.[1]

When Duke Maximilian undertook the government and asked for an opinion about the university from his father, William V, the latter answered, on May 8, 1602, that 'he considered it most essential that better discipline should be established and strictly maintained among the students'; hitherto nothing had been done in this respect; scarcely a year passed without one or two of the youngsters meeting his death either through fighting or through bestial gluttony and drinking; some of the students 'squander all their parents' worldly goods, run up huge debts, and reduce many to poverty; others commit all sorts of iniquities, and become so godless that it is piteous to behold.' In this way the college gets such a bad name that good parents are afraid of sending their children into so dangerous a life; indeed, some of them say they would rather send their children out to war than to Ingolstadt. The stricter the discipline the greater is the prosperity of a university. The Jesuit university at Dillingen, where rigid discipline was kept up, numbered several hundred more students than that of Ingolstadt, although

[1] Prantl, i. 448–449. In these same acts we find entries of mandates against blustering and abusive language, and so forth; further, frequent transactions respecting duels, monstrous debts, scandalous pasquilles, &c. 'Tumults and riots belong almost to ordinary occurrences. . . .' Death-blows in the years 1579 (p. 298), 1586, 1599, 1602, 1607, 1611, 'especially two cases which from the gruesomeness of the deed (once it was a Von Fugger, and the second time a Von Hundt), roused the most intense indignation and horror' (p. 449).

neither jurisprudence nor medicine was taught at Dillingen; the same was the case at Würzburg, Mayence and Treves, 'to which places I have been told that nearly all the Poles go now, because Polish parents have found out how their children become corrupted at Ingolstadt.' The students must be forbidden under fear of heavy punishment to carry arms about them, to visit taverns and dancing-houses, to carry on nocturnal riots in the streets, and to join in drinking bouts: visits to the fencing-schools must only be allowed under certain conditions. The Duke also thought it desirable that a 'distinct and semi-clerical dress should be adopted among the students.' The restoration of strict discipline was 'almost the most important point as regards the revival of the university'; without this 'it was certain that nothing would be of any avail, let them attempt what they would.' [1]

Maximilian's councillors, to whom the memorandum of William was sent, replied on June 3: 'The suggested improvement in discipline was certainly to be desired, but the university consisted chiefly of the faculty of jurisprudence, and those who studied law belonged to the nobility and to that class of people who liked to have their liberty; clerical discipline therefore could not be kept up among them.' [2] Five years later a committee of investigation, nominated by Maximilian, reported as follows: 'Attendance at the university is on the decrease, while the coarseness and insubordina-

[1] Prantl, ii. 351–353. According to Prantl (i. 384) William, 'the old gentleman, on account of this expression of opinion was very grossly abused by the Jesuits and especially by his Father Confessor.'

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 357.

tion of the students, especially of those who come from Munich, increase continually.'[1] Maximilian accordingly requested the people of Munich to bring their sons up better in future; he should interfere penally, he said, if these young Munichers continued to hold pre-eminence among all the recalcitrant students.[2]

The university in the Breisgau presented the same unedifying picture as that of Ingolstadt. It, too, was drawn into the religious disturbances, and under the growing political anarchy, and the insubordination spreading through all student life, it could not maintain its former prosperity. Like the Vienna and Ingolstadt colleges it lost its autonomous character, and became dependent on the government of the reigning prince of anterior (West) Austria.[3]

For a number of years after 1531, the theological faculty had had only two professors, and for a long time indeed only one teacher; once a member of this faculty had to be dismissed on account of public immorality.[4] In 1563 the General of the Dominican Order, Vincent Justinianus, erected in the preachers' convent at Freiburg a 'General Studium'—that is to say, a high school for members of Orders; he set apart for its use all the funds of the convent at Esslingen that were still available, and had books sent to Freiburg from Colmar, Gebweiler, and other Alsatian convents of the Order.[5]

[1] Prantl, i. 384. [2] *Ibid.* p. 385.

[3] Schreiber, *Universität Freiburg*, ii. 41 ff.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 271, 281, 288, 289.

[5] Mone in the *Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, ii. 130. ** Here, and also by Poinsignon in the *Freiburg Diocesan Archives*, xvi. 26, the date of the erection of the 'Generalstudium' is incorrectly given as 1543. Cf. *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, cix. 492, note 2.

After long wavering among some of the professors in the year 1567, the whole body of professors and officials took their oaths on the Tridentine Creed, after which the university settled down into a thoroughly Catholic institution. Jesuits, however, were not tolerated in its midst. When the government, owing to the gross deterioration of the college, proposed to call back the Jesuits, the idea provoked violent opposition. It had been found from experience at Ingolstadt, said the university, that the Fathers did not behave in a collegiate manner towards their fellow-teachers; their pupils were haughty and disobedient, because they were either allowed full freedom at too early an age, or else because they were kept within too narrow bounds.[1]

But the dissensions which were perpetually going on among the professors at Freiburg spoke very badly for the *esprit de corps* among the collegiate body, and the conduct of the Freiburg students was of such a nature that the philologist, Henry Loriti Glareanus, one of the most distinguished masters of the college, wrote to his friend, Aegidius Tschudi, on January 21, 1550: 'The young people of the present day are so wicked that they resemble the people of Sodom and Gomorrha. Drunkenness, dishonour, godlessness, sacrilege and contempt of God have taken possession of all hearts.' Three years later he complained to the same friend: 'The fear of God is extinguished in Germany; the Word of God is on men's lips, but Satan is in their hearts.' 'Once upon a time I used to say to myself "Foolish is the world, and foolish its empty pursuits";

[1] Hirn, i. 235, 238.

now I exclaim, "What vice, what godlessness, what a crazy century!"'[1]

Once, in 1531, when a pack of drunken students after a night of debauchery marched into the cathedral at daybreak, singing and playing lutes, and the clergy complained of the disgraceful proceeding, the university deputed one of its professors to represent to the magistrate that as regards discipline the directors of the university had the same difficulties to encounter as other ruling authorities, who unfortunately did not dare, in these dangerous times, to enforce punishment according to justice, but had to be guided by expediency: if the university 'acted as the occasion demanded, it was to be feared that the students would go elsewhere.'[2]

One chief cause of deterioration at Freiburg, as well as at Vienna and Ingolstadt, lay in the dissolute condition of the Bursas. Principals and students often left the chief Bursa (called Peacock Bursa) at night, swarmed about the town, indulged in drink, and brought suspicious women back with them to it. Again and again the students, with appeal to the conduct of the principals, refused obedience to the statutes.[3] In

[1] Schreiber, *Glarean*, pp. 89–90. Döllinger, i. 195–196. And yet Glarean had no cause to complain of lack of hearers; their number was often so great that one of the usual halls was not large enough to hold them, and he had to lecture in the Aula. Schreiber, *Glarean*, p. 111.

[2] *Ibid. Universität Freiburg*, ii. 107.

[3] '. . . quod et ipsi choreas visitent, noctu et ipsi vicatim ambulent, vociferent et discurrant per oppidum. . . .' *Ibid.* ii. 72. In the protocols of 1597 it says: 'In Bursa dissoluta vita existit, tota disciplina perit.' *Ibid.* ii. 77. In a protocol of the senate of November 22, 1596, it says: 'Diabolicus bibendi modus (noviter) excogitatus, quo unus bibens surrexit alii omnes bibenti acclamantes bestialibus clamoribus et pulsibus tumultuantes, minime ferendus.' *Ibid.* ii. 92, note. Flogging was also in vogue with the Bursa students. When the beadle,

1521 one of the principals was murdered by the pupils; in 1536 the Bursa was set on fire. In spite of the rule of the university that all the students were to live in the Bursas, there was a constantly increasing number who lodged and boarded independently in private houses. It was by no means rare for whole houses to be hired by students belonging to the nobility, for themselves and their suites.[1] The nightly tumults and frays in which not only the patrols, but frequently also whole guilds, were implicated, once so incensed a burgomaster that he told the patrol in future to let fly at the rioters as though they were hounds: 'and if you should happen to kill one or more of them, it doesn't matter; another time they will stay at home.'[2] Blows causing death were frequent among the students; cases of assassination are even recorded. French nobles who studied at the university brought duelling into vogue; bloody frays between French and Germans became quite common occurrences in the last decades of the sixteenth century. On June 5, 1592, students were forbidden, under pain of relegation, to go about armed and to attack each other. However, a few days later a French student was killed; on March 1, 1593, fifteen French students attacked a defenceless violinist and wounded him fatally. In consequence of all the numerous cases of murder, which were not severely

in 1534, refused to administer such a punishment, he was dismissed from his office by the university. On October 16, 1593, the senate issued the following order for the Pedagogium: 'posthac virgis caedendos esse, qui officio suo deesse reperti fuerint; et qui faciunt indigna studiosis instar Beanorum tractentur.' Joachim Rosalechius, teacher of poetry, composed in the following year a poem, *De virgis, ipsarumque laude et recto usu, carmina latino-germanica.* Schreiber, ii. 74, 137, note 1, 192, note 1.

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 69 ff., 104; cf. p. 333.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 107.

punished, the university fell gradually into the very worst repute. In 1576, the whole four faculties together only counted the very modest number of 250 students; in 1616 only 97, and in the following year only 78.[1]

As regards the 'idleness' of the professors, especially of the jurists, the reports are no better than at Vienna, Ingolstadt and elsewhere. The sovereign government had good reason for drawing attention in 1576 to the fact that 'it did not in any way help the students to deduct from the salaries of the professors what they had forfeited by the omission of lectures; the university could only attain renown if the professors were diligent.' The fact that the professors sought extra employment is explained in the case of Freiburg, as well as of other universities, by the meagreness of the salaries.[2]

[1] Schreiber, *Universität Freiburg*, ii. 110 ff., 124, 141. Report of the nuncio Portia in Theiner, *Annales*, ii. 533.

[2] Schreiber, ii. 53, 57, 141. On one occasion a professor excused himself for missing a lecture on the plea that 'he had to make purchases for a magisters' dinner and to truss fowls,' p. 68. ** The papal diplomat, Minutio Minucci, in his interesting memorial on the position of the Catholic Church in Germany in 1588, attributes the decline of the Catholic universities chiefly to the small salaries of the professors. 'The old scale of salaries has been kept up,' he says, 'although the price of everything has risen; scarcely anybody is able to accept such posts for such small remuneration; those men who have undertaken professorships only fulfil their duties as teachers in so far as other occupations leave them time. Consequently the universities of Freiburg and Cologne, once the training grounds of so many first-rate men, are now forsaken. The colleges of Vienna, Treves, Mayence and Erfurt are in still worse condition. The only Catholic university which is prosperous is that of Ingolstadt, which is maintained by the care and generosity of the Bavarian dukes; but even here there is room for much improvement.' *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, part III. i. 762. In 1549 the Franciscan, John Wild, had already informed the bishops assembled at a synod in Mayence that, owing to the criminal neglect of the prelates 'who had been for so many years past in the Church' all schools and study had deteriorated. 'The sects are

Like the university of Freiburg, that of Cologne, which at the close of the Middle Ages had held the first place among the Rhenish universities, and had counted nearly 2000 students, sank to a lamentable condition after the outbreak of the religious, political disturbances. In 1516 there still remained 370 students, and in 1521, 251, but in 1527 the numbers were reduced to 72, and in 1534 only 54 students were left.[1]

In 1525, on April 4, the university, in a missive to the council, complained that 'the Bursas had in part become empty,' because 'everybody was allowed to set up schools in all the streets and alleys, and to entice away from the Bursas the children of good burghers, native and foreign, and to teach them secretly and without any authority or supervision.' They begged that the council would forbid these corner schools, and at the same time drive away the prostitutes who lived in the neighbourhood of the Bursas; and that if the principals could not bring the refractory, disobedient students to order by words or by the rod, the council would find some means of doing so. There were also other serious nuisances to be overcome. When parents 'arrive with their children at the town gates or on the Rhine wharf, they are attacked by dare-devil mis-

far in advance of us in these matters. They spare no expense to produce learned people. We treat the learned with such friendship that no one any longer takes pleasure in study.' Kehrein, ii. 114–117. Brischar, i. 307–310.

[1] Cf. *Zeitschr. des bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, vi. 208. Krafft, *Aufzeichnungen Bullingers*, Elberfeld, 1870, p. 16, note 1. 'In this very year, 1534, the university replied to the official question of the town provisors concerning the causes of the decline of the institute: Mirum quidem *non esse universitatem perire* aut in personarum numero imminui, cum ubivis locorum litteraria gymnasia aut cessarent aut minuerentur maxime ob Lutheranismum aut fidei dissensionem.'

creants, who pelt them with mud and stones, drag them by the hair, &c., whereby much ill-will and annoyance is caused.' All sorts of obscene books and scurrilous rhymes and pamphlets were printed and sold without any check.[1]

For want of good teachers, the professors of theology complained in 1546, study had become almost extinct at the university; the prebends were bestowed by the provisors on men unfitted for the chair who were even unable to lecture;[2] a decade later, however, the provisors told the rector that, although they had taken a great deal of trouble in trying to restore the theological lectures, very few, or it might be said none, were held.[3] In the other faculties things were not much better; the faculty of medicine had scarcely a dozen students, and in the year 1558 it had only one candidate for a doctor's degree.[4]

After a Jesuit college had been founded at Cologne some of the Fathers held theological, and also astronomical and mathematical, lectures at the university; it was by them alone, wrote the papal nuncio Commendone in 1561, that the study of theology was kept up at Cologne.[5] In 1573 the apostolic nuncio, Caspar Gropper, insisted in his Reform proposals that 'In the faculty of medicine there should at least be two professors, with salaries of sixty and fifty gold florins respectively'; the magistrate, however, would not accede to the proposal.[6] On May 6, 1577, the academic senate had to report to Rome that 'the college had

[1] Bianco, i[a]. *Anlagen*, pp. 316–326. ** For student life at Cologne cf. Dreesen, pp. 21 ff.

[2] Ennen, iv. 665 ff.

[3] Bianco, i[a]. 485, 498.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 466.

[5] See our remarks, vol. viii. p. 242.

[6] Bianco, i[a]. 511.

almost entirely collapsed; only a very few lectures were still held.[1] At the very same time there were 1000 pupils and 'Convictors' studying at the gymnasium which was under the direction of the Jesuits.[2]

The papal nuncios invariably showed themselves the most zealous promoters of university reform,[3] but their efforts had little success, partly on account of the lukewarmness of the magistrate, and partly owing to the laziness and self-indulgence of the university prebendaries whose duty it was to give the lectures. 'Many men who hold these prebends,' it says in a despatch laid before the university by the nuncio Antonius Albergati, 'neither lecture themselves, nor appoint others to lecture for them; many of the pre-

[1] Bianco, pp. 358–369. Theiner, *Annales*, ii. 281–287.

[2] See above, p. 139 f., *Reformvorschläge der Jesuiten für die theologische Facultät* (1570) in Pachtler, i. 215 f. The full theological course was of six years' duration. *Statuten vom Jahre* 1578, *ibid.* p. 236 f.

[3] Cf. Bianco, i. *Anlagen*, pp. 338–353, 358–379; and i. 527 f. ** Hansen in the *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, part III. i. 66, remarks: 'With the reform of the university, which the nuncio Gropper had already had in mind, Portia busied himself very energetically, and, apart from the notices contained in his general reports, there is abundant material relating to this section of his activity in the Vatican archives. I shall treat these matters connectedly in another place, and have therefore not printed the reports on the Cologne university here.' In 1574, and above all in 1577, the German Congregation at Rome consulted 'de reformanda et instauranda Coloniensi academia.' It says here in the protocol of this congregation: 'Cardinales in id omnes consenserunt, opus hoc adeo utile et necessarium esse, ut caeteris omnibus, quae juvandae Germanicae nationis causa aguntur, sit anteponendum. Non maius aliunde praesidium catholicae religioni in Germania, non uberiores fructus, quam ex hac academia quaeri aut expectari posse, et ideo sanctissimum Dominum nostrum operae pretium facturum, si eius erigendae, augendae ac sustentandae curam etiam cum propria impensa ac liberalitate susceperit.' W. E. Schwarz, *Zehn Gutachten über die Lage der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland* 1575–76 *nebst dem Protocol der Deutschen Kongregation*, Paderborn, 1891, pp. 99 and 124.

bends are bestowed on unfit persons; there is too much expenditure connected with the promotions.' [1]

The extent of this expenditure may be realised from an account of the doings on October 18, 1591, when three Cologne pastors were promoted to the rank of doctors of theology. Nearly 500 people took part in the 'Doktoratsessen,' and consumed an enormous amount of meat and fish; to quench their thirst one and a half ohms of ordinary and six ohms of fine wine were provided; the dessert consisted of 106 almond cakes, 102 *Parmenussen* (Parma nuts ?). On January 18, 1600, three newly appointed 'Doctors' put before their guests '134 pieces of beef, each three or four pounds in weight, 120 capons, 255 hens and young cocks, 135 partridges, 15 hares, 5 stags, 2 swans, and so forth.' [2]

At the university of Treves, in 1560, the philosophical and theological faculties were handed over to the Jesuits. 'For the restoration of our academy which has deteriorated with age and is now at its last gasp,' wrote the Archbishop at the time, to the superiors of the Order, 'we need seek no more fitting builders than yourselves.' The Erfurt university, which had once exercised an important influence on the intellectual development of Germany, suffered a most melancholy fate after the outbreak of the religious disturbances. The preachers of the new evangelical creed made war for many years on study of all sorts, and the overlord of the town, the Archbishop of Mayence, was powerless against the whole movement. 'Under the pretext

[1] Bianco, i. 539 ff.

[2] Fuller details about the two 'Doktoratsessen' are given in *Ibid.* i[a]. *Anlagen*, pp. 84–107. Cf. Müller's *Zeitschr. für deutsche Kulturgesch.* 1873, pp. 759–760.

of the Evangel,' wrote the humanist, Eobanus Hessus, in 1523, 'the apostate monks utterly suppressed all the beautiful sciences here at Erfurt. In their mischievous sermons they robbed genuine study of its dignity in order to pass off their own absurdities on the world as wisdom.' Henry Herebold, the rector of the college, complained at the same time that 'all scientific and learned study is trampled under foot and despised; academic honours are detested; among the young students all discipline is at an end.' Euricius Cordus confirmed the justice of these complaints with the words: 'The lawlessness and licentiousness which reign among the students could not be exceeded by soldiers in camp; it grieves me beyond measure to live here.' From year to year the number of teachers and students decreased; scarcely anybody was willing to accept an academic post. From May 1, 1520, to 1521, 311 students had been enrolled, in the following year the number fell to 120, in 1522 there were only 72; by 1527 there were only 14. If in later years the numbers sometimes increased, the rise was very slight.[1]

[1] Cf. Krause, *Eobanus Hessus*, i. 147. ** Roth, *Einfluss des Humanismus*, p. 40 f. 'Still worse [than at Wittenberg] did the state of things become at Erfurt, the one university which from the first had looked kindly on the Reformation. In the space of a few years Erfurt, the much-prized citadel of humanism, the town of Eobanus and his joyous empire, presented an altogether lamentable aspect. On the occasion of Luther's visit on April 6, 1521, the poet had celebrated in swinging verse the entry of the Muses which, to him, seemed connected with the event; [cf. the elegies of Eobanus Hessus on Luther, in Ellinger, p. 91 ff.] Instead of the Muses, however, there came outrageous student demonstrations against the papists, and thundering pulpit vituperations against science and learning, which in its blind hatred of the "sophists" made no distinction between the scholiasts and the humanists who towered such heights above them. Teachers and scholars abandoned the town, which had grown then thoroughly inimical to study: one of the last to go, in 1526, was Eobanus, who had been left stranded high and dry.'

In 1529 we already find in the year-books of the college a melancholy entry such as 'All who still possess any talent are now giving up the unprofitable pursuit of science and learning in order to devote themselves to money-making industries or trades. According to the wish of the council, which, in 1530, after long dissensions, had come to an understanding with the Archbishop of Mayence, Catholics and Protestants were to study together at the university and to learn to tolerate each other; the desired condition of mutual toleration, however, was never realised. While the Protestants raged against the Catholics, the Catholics, profiting by their preponderance, kept their opponents for a long time excluded from all academic dignities. When in 1569 they made overtures of peace and elected a Protestant preacher as rector, the latter was forbidden by his colleagues in office to accept the dignity, and this, moreover, under appeal to the Bible, which strictly enjoins that an heretical man must be shunned, in order that the infection of his errors may not be caught. Not tolerance, but sole dominion was claimed by the Protestants just as by Luther, who had inveighed repeatedly in the bitterest terms against tolerance, and compared Erfurt to Sodom and Gomorrah.' [1]

[1] Fuller details are given in Kampschulte, *Erfurt*, ii. 134–260. Recalling the days of his youth Luther said: 'The university at Erfurt was then in such high repute that all others in comparison were looked upon as small elementary schools; but now its glory has departed, and the university is actually dead. What a grand sight it used to be when magisters received their degrees and torchlight processions took place in their honour! In my mind there is no temporal, worldly pleasure equal to what we then felt. There was also great pomp and glorification when doctors' degrees were bestowed; we used to ride round the town, decked out in special array; all this is now over and done with. But I myself wish these things still went on.' Luther's *Table-talk*, Collected Works, lxii. 287. ** The papal diplomat, Minutio Minucci, who interested

SECTION II.—*The Protestant universities*[1]

With the exception of Erfurt and Wittenberg, all the universities, at the outbreak of the religious revolution, stood loyally by the Pope and the Church, and the princes and civic authorities could only bring them round to the new doctrines by means of force. Such means were used, among others, by Duke Ulrich of Württemberg in the process of Protestantising the university of Tübingen in 1535. All the professors, he decreed, who were opposed to the 'right, true, evangelical doctrine' were to be dismissed. In consequence of this edict the chancellor, the rector, and several magisters and students who would not renounce their Catholic faith, left the town.[2]

When the introduction of the Protestant Church system began in Saxony in 1539, the Wittenberg theologians implored Duke Henry 'to depose every

himself keenly in the elevation of the Catholic universities in Germany, laid special stress on the importance of a reform of the Erfurt college, 'quale essendo vicino alla Sassonia, anzi pure nella Sassonia istessa in quella parte, che si chiama Turingia, et essendo ella la maggior città d'Alemagna, se ben non la più popolosa, et soggetta all' arcivescovo di Magonza et quella istessa, dove cominciò Luttero sparger il suo primo veneno, saria il dovere ch' in quella prima d'ogni altra si riaccendesse il lume della verità con facella così splendente, ch'ella potesse anco riflettere negli occhi et batter il cuore delli Sassoni erranti et circonvicini.' *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, part III. i. 763.

[1] ** Roth (*Einfluss des Humanismus*, p. 101, note, 209) speaks of 'that chapter of Janssen, vii. 168 ff. [the earlier edition], "The Protestant Universities" laid on with glaring colours,' endorses, however, the accuracy of the facts adduced by Janssen, and says in the text, p. 56: 'That government supervision of the purity of doctrine could not be carried on without much severity of all sorts stands to reason; but it lies in the very nature of things human that those who wish to conquer a new position or to defend one already conquered must send to the right-about all that opposes them.'

[2] Döllinger, i. 617–622.

professor at the university of Leipzig who did not at once accept the Lutheran teaching'—that is to say, to disregard all rights of personality, of the academic corporation, and all the ancient liberties of the college.[1]

Originally the universities were free, independent corporations, essentially irresponsible to the government, and enjoying almost unlimited legislative power, making their own statutes, their own appointments, and in accordance with the nature of free learning, consisting of fellows all enjoying the same rights. Anyone who had taken a doctor's degree at one university had the right of instruction at all the others. In consequence of the cosmopolitan character of the colleges there was a constant migration and exchange of learned men going on through the whole of Europe.

All this became more and more changed in the course of the sixteenth century after the spread of the Church schism. The change, however, had first begun towards the end of the fifteenth century, with the heightened claims of princely power. When the Leipzig professor, John Kone, in a public speech in 1445, addressed the following remarks to the Duke of Saxony who was present: 'In our privileges and liberties

[1] See our remarks, vol. iii. p. 55. 'It was truly the first time,' says Döllinger (i. 622–623) respecting the Wittenberg *Rathschlag*, 'since a Christian Church and a Christian State have existed, that the principle was formally established, that the ruler had no longer need to respect any rights, nor any well-founded claims, and was at liberty to use brutal force alone and the terrorism of absolute princely power against every single corporation, with complete disregard of all ancient privileges. And those who established this principle and gave such advice did not consider that they were endangering the whole existence of their own college and the rightful position of each one of themselves, that by this *Rathschlag* they were granting the princes the right to drive every professor at a moment's notice out of Wittenberg, as had happened by their advice at Leipzig.'

neither a king nor a chancellor has the right to interfere; the university governs itself, alters and improves its laws according to its own needs,'[1] the princes were already at work in this way, and in the following decades the Electors of the Palatinate, for instance, made successful raids on the rights and liberties of the university of Heidelberg, and at Tübingen, Ingolstadt, Vienna and elsewhere the most private affairs of the colleges were often essentially influenced by the interference of the reigning sovereign.[2]

But it was under the influence of the religious disturbances that the universities first became completely divested of their corporate character, were transformed into State institutions, and subjected to the will of the government authorities. Catholic rulers, like those of Austria and Bavaria,[3] were no less intent than Protestant ones on acquiring this authority over the universities; but within the Protestant districts the subordination of the colleges was far greater than in the Catholic districts, and this chiefly on account of the frequent changes of creed among the rulers. As often as a change of this sort occurred, all the professors who did not change also, and from Lutherans become Calvinists, or from Calvinists Lutherans, or who within Lutheranism would not subscribe to fresh forms of confessions—as, for instance, to the Formula of Concord—forfeited their offices and their daily bread.[4]

[1] The speech in Zarncke, 'Die urkundlichen Quellen zur Gesch. der Universität Leipzig,' in the transactions of the *Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, iii. 723 ff.

[2] Cf. K. Hartfelder, 'Der Zustand der deutschen Hochschulen am Ende des Mittelalters,' in Von Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschr.* lxiv. 100 ff.

[3] See above, pp. 213 f. and 236.

[4] 'The universities became, for the first time in Germany, *instrumenta dominationis*; the princes forthwith usurped the right to appoint and

At such times the professors, especially those of theology, did not always meet with the most considerate

dismiss, first the professors of theology, and then all the others at their will, and the facility with which by the dismissal or instalment of three or four professors the religion of a whole province could be changed, gave birth to the territorial system with its fixed principle that it was for the prince to settle the religion of the land.' 'Wherever the Reformation had triumphed new colleges sprung up rapidly, as at Marburg, Königsberg, Jena, Helmstädt. These colleges were to be training grounds of Protestant theology, and at the same time of the Roman jurisprudence which was so favourable to princely absolutism. Thus from Helmstädt it is reported that the provincial Estates are accustomed to look upon and to detest the ducal university as a mere salaried company of defenders of princely pretensions.' Döllinger, *Die Universitäten sonst und jetzt*, Munich, 1867, p. 13. 'The free, independent corporation' of the old universities, says Muther (pp. 33–34), lay in subjection to the principle of a State institute. 'Just in proportion as the German princes emancipated themselves from the power of the Emperor and the Empire, did they in like measure subjugate every independent, free, autonomous institution. The formation of the territorial sovereignty robbed the corporation of its being; it was indispensable that only a single will should rule in a single state, if the fight with the imperial overlord was to be carried on successfully. One more consideration there was: the undeniable influence of the Roman Church on the corporation could best be removed if the latter was robbed of its existence as such.' Concerning the Wittenberg university, especially, it says (*ibid.* pp. 34–37): 'The old constitution of the university was ruined by the Reformation.' Since the foundation of the university, in the year 1536, 'the college had changed from a corporation closely bound up with the Church into a purely secular State institution; it preserved, indeed, its own income from the revenues of the former abbey (the Church of All Saints), but the lord who had presented this income had also known how to make its possessor completely dependent on himself. True, the old statutes remained in force, especially the statutes of the faculty of jurists. But the foundation charter already betrays the theory that the faculty is a community of State-nominated and paid teachers (three doctors and one licentiate) rather than a corporation of fellows, *i.e.* doctors received at and by the faculty.' Concerning the effect of changing the universities into State institutions no one has spoken better than Paulsen, pp. 222–223. 'With this change,' he says, 'there hangs a complete revolution: it may be called the territorialisation of the learned professions—indeed of every branch of learning and the whole range of intellectual life. In the fifteenth century and in the first decades of the sixteenth, the whole of Germany constituted a uniform university and school-district. It was not asked of a scholar whence he came and where he had studied, but what he knew.

treatment. In 1561 the Saxon ducal chancellor Brück addressed the theological faculty at Jena with the

East and west, south and north carried on the most lively interchange of learned teachers. Consider only the ubiquity of the humanists. The universities were international corporations, members of the international Church; whosoever had learnt to speak the Latin tongue, had thereby thrown off the fetters of territoriality, and gained the citizenship of a higher order of community, of Christendom, or of humanity. The *magisterium*, wherever and on whomsoever bestowed, gave the right to teach *hic et ubique terrarum*. By the establishment of the territorial Churches this universal freemasonry of learning was abolished. Protestant and Catholic universities closed their doors against each other, and soon also, as the divergences between the theologians increased, Protestant universities excluded Protestants of different sects. On the admission of doctors from other universities it was attempted by an examen doctrinarum to guard against the introduction of obnoxious creeds. The students were forbidden to go to universities at which forbidden doctrines were held, on penalty of being disqualified for office. Added to the political exigencies of creed, came the fiscal point of view: to what purpose else were territorial universities? Thus, for instance, in 1564 natives of Brandenburg were forbidden to study at foreign universities, and the magistrates and other patrons were enjoined to get from the provincial university of Frankfort recommendations of candidates to fill vacant posts. This last enactment was obviously also a necessary supplement to the stipendiate system: State enterprise and prohibition; a further consequence of which was that each territory, even the smallest, should endeavour to organise a thoroughly independent system of learned instruction, if possible to have a territorial university, or at least an academic gymnasium. Hence the enormous number of stunted, lifeless academic institutions after the middle of the sixteenth century. . . . Without doubt these circumstances helped to bring on that state of stagnation into which German life had fallen even before the Thirty Years' War, and closely connected with them, both as cause and effect, is the enforcement of strict control of religious faith, which had now become general. In the old Church the control of faith had been carried on with laxity; first and foremost was the saying: quisquis praesumitur bonus. Who then would have been always spying out delinquencies? Now, however, the divergencies among the theologians had become a world-wide theme, and each individual was sharply watched on all sides, to see how strictly he held by the formulas of faith current in the territory. . . . On every change of views in the government of the territorial Church a minute inspection was instituted to discover if everyone holding office of any sort had changed in like manner, and all who were suspected of either outwardly or inwardly disregarding the duty of submission were forthwith removed.'

words: 'You black, red, yellow, desperate rogues and villains! Shameful martyrdom on you! May you, infamous rogues and agitators, be hauled over the coals, mutilated, blinded by every man.'[1]

The pay of the professors at the Protestant universities was no less miserable than at the Catholic ones; indeed it was far worse than at many of the Catholic colleges. Those princes even who were famed as 'special patrons and promoters of learning' showed themselves uncommonly mean and stingy in providing for their state institutions. A striking example in this respect is afforded by Duke John Albert of Mecklenburg in connexion with the university of Rostock.

In the first decades of the sixteenth century this university had still been in a flourishing condition; hundreds of Swedes, Danes and Norwegians flocked with the Germans to its colleges. In the years 1512–1513, 305 fresh students had been enrolled, and even in the last years before the beginning of the religious disturbances there was no sign of a decrease in the number of students.[2] Not a few of the spiritual foundations of the institute had been called into existence by individual companies and guilds; among others the company of coopers at Rostock had founded a *Vicarie* for the payment of a professor of theology; the whole of the clergy of the bishopric of Schwerin had applied the tenth part of the ecclesiastical fiefs to the university.[3] Distinguished scholars were active in the different faculties, and all in one body showed themselves unfavourable to the new doctrinal views. But after the spread of these last, and in consequence of the religious

[1] Ritter, *Leben des Flacius Illyricus*, p. 105.

[2] Krabbe, pp. 289–294. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 162, 163.

dissensions, the college sank lower and lower, and seemed almost on the verge of ruin. In the school year 1524 only forty-four fresh students were enrolled, in 1525 only fifteen, and in the following year only five; the university was almost entirely deserted, and numbers of professors turned their backs on the town.[1] 'Ever

[1] Krabbe, pp. 372, 387. Schirrmacher, i. 48. See also Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock II. Michaelis* 1499 *bis Ostern* 1611 (Rostock, 1891). In a review of this work in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1892, p. 826 f., Luschin von Ebengreuth remarks: 'This deterioration had already in the sixteenth century been ascribed to the greater attraction which Wittenberg exercised; this assertion, however, as Hofmeister shows, both as regards the Mecklenburgers and as a general statement, is only correct within wide limitations. It is a generally accepted fact that the German colleges in the third decade of the sixteenth century suffered a sudden falling off in the number of students. It is my intention on some other occasion to publish the statistical materials which I have collected concerning this period, and I offer now as a specimen merely the figures for the universities at Rostock, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Greifswald, Leipzig and Wittenberg:

Year	Rostock	Frankfort	Greifswald	Leipzig	Wittenberg
1521	123	73	37	340	245
1522	109	94	23	285	285
1523	51	42	19	126	198
1524	44	46	36	91	170
1525	15	23	—	102	204
1526	5	20	—	81	76
1527	15	32	—	126	73
1528	12 + ?	39	—	100	220
1529	5 + ?	18	—	93	173
1530	33	32	—	100	174

Later on there was again a rise of numbers at some of the Protestant colleges. The most important of them, Wittenberg for instance, in the middle of the century numbered 2000 students; see Ritter, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i. 114. Towards the end of the century others became largely attended, among which we note especially Heidelberg (cf. Toepke, ii. Appendix 7, and Thorbecke, *Statuten und Reformationen der Universität Heidelberg*, Leipzig, 1891, xi.) and Jena (see W. Grimm, 'Frequenz der Universität Jena,' in the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie*, vi. 34–35). ** See (now) also Franz Eulenburg, 'Über die Frequenz der deutschen

since the incursion of the Martinian teaching and faction, which had spread nearly all over Germany, the majority of parents had taken to keeping their children at home, and had ceased to send them to the universities.' [1] 'The title of "doctor" had degenerated into a term of abuse.' 'At that time,' writes a chronicler, 'the academies had become so demoralised, and scholars had fallen into such contempt that to call a man a "doctor" was to give him heaven knows what name of infamy.' [2]

Immediately after the introduction of the new doctrine the Rostock council began to encroach on the rights of the university, usurped legislation over it, and tried to get possession of its property.[3] The condition of the college, wrote John von Lucka, chancellor of Duke Albert, in 1551, had become completely

Universitäten in früherer Zeit,' in the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 3rd series, xiii. (1897) 481–554, where a wealth of statistica material is contributed. Eulenburg gives first of all from the Heidelberg matriculation books the corresponding summaries which, after the high-water mark at the turn of the fifteenth century (1480–1520), show here, as elsewhere, a serious relapse. 'The lowest level of the university occurs in the middle of the sixteenth century (1521–1565), brought about by the religious and social movements of the Reformation, which were a great hindrance to study' (p. 494). Not till after 1580 was there any improvement again, and the Thirty Years' War quickly effected another relapse. The same result is obtained in the case of all the German universities from the study of the materials collected (p. 525): 'The rise in the course of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century is a very rapid one. . . . All the quicker also is the falling off in the "twenties" of the sixteenth century. *With the religious and social disturbances of the Reformation a complete interruption of study set in.* Some universities stopped work altogether, others dwindled down to a few students, the rest sustained great loss.' In conclusion Eulenburg gives tabular summaries of the annual inscriptions of fifteen German universities from 1386 to 1705.

[1] Lisch, *Jahrbücher*, xvi. 193 ff.

[2] Grape, p. 109, from P. Lindeberg's *Rostock Chronicle*. Cf. Wiggers, p. 136.

[3] Krabbe, p. 401 ff.

corrupted through the influence of the council, which did exactly as it liked with the college property and rents.[1]

Not only the council, however, but also the territorial government had been guilty of forcible proceedings. They had taken away the ecclesiastical goods and rents of the university, an essential part of its income, and added them to the exchequer funds, so that the university could no longer maintain itself. 'The college,' so ran the complaint in 1551, 'had been robbed of the money which had been promised at its foundation; the academical houses were out of repair, partly indeed gone to ruin.'[2] In most beseeching terms they petitioned John Albert, the honoured Maecenas of high intellectual culture, to come to their assistance. The Duke declared himself willing, 'in case of necessity, to contribute to the income of the college a yearly sum from his treasury, but not more than 350 florins.' But even this small contribution was not sent. According to a 'memorable dotation brief' which the Dukes John Albert and Ulrich had addressed 'from well-considered motives' to the institute on April 5, 1557, this university was to receive from confiscated 'Church goods' a yearly sum of 3500 florins. How it fared, however, with the payment of this annual sum is seen from a fresh petition which the university sent in to John Albert on November 12, 1558, in which they stated that 'During the whole year, ending on last Michaelmas Day, they had not received more than

[1] Schirrmacher, i. 57, 59; cf. 61.

[2] Franck, *Altes und neues Mecklenburg*, book IX. p. 255. Concerning the robbery of the university cf. also Melanchthon's letter of January 12, 1542, in the *Corp. Reform.* iv. 756.

560 florins,' and yet the Duke 'had the credit in the eyes of other princes of being a gracious and benevolent supporter of Christian schools and churches.' In 1561 not much more than half of the guaranteed sum had been received. Two years later the 'dotation' was reduced to 3000 florins. We are in possession of a petition of grievances from the university to the Duke, of the year 1567, which runs as follows: 'We, your princely Grace's professors, who daily serve the place here with lectures, have received no pay since Michaelmas of last year (1566). Profuse promises we do indeed receive from your princely Grace's captains and stewards, but nothing more follows, even if we go on importuning for many years. In consequence of this, your princely Grace's university is brought into great difficulties, and the end of it will be ruin and corruption.' For God's sake they begged the Duke to help them: 'if he did so it would redound to his perpetual honour'; was he not indeed regarded as 'a father of the Fatherland,' and had he not gained 'a great name and fame abroad as well, on account of his laudable donation to the university'? [1]

In Greifswald things were even in a more wretched condition than in Rostock. There, too, since the beginning of the religious changes the university had fallen into deep degradation. For twelve whole years after 1526 the lectures were almost entirely given up. When in 1539 Duke Philip I of Pomerania resolved on reopen-

[1] Krabbe, pp. 498, 569–570, 582. Schirrmacher, i. 60, and ii. 38–43, 45–47, 64–66. 'The whole of the Church spoils were divided in 1556 between the two dukes John Albert and Ulrich and the secular provincial Estates. But out of all this mass of confiscated riches only the pitiful yearly rental of 3500 florins was set apart for the educational purposes of the university and the schools. C. Hegel, pp. 132–133.

ing the institution eighty-eight students had themselves enrolled; the theological, the juridical and the medical faculties were each provided with one professor; the faculty of arts with three; the rector paid 'a high tribute of praise to the beneficence of the laudable Duke, and exhorted the young and all the others to gratitude.' In the two following years fifty-four students were enrolled.[1] A professor of theology, by his urgent petitioning, succeeded in procuring from the Duke in 1558 a 'better provision' for the university; namely, annual grants of 1000 florins from the prince's exchequer, 200 florins from eight Rügen parishes, and four lasts of corn from the convent Eldena. But the execution was so tardy that in 1562 the college addressed a petition to Duke Ernest Louis begging that the sum of 1200 florins promised by Philip might be paid up. The next year the sum was raised to 1500 florins, but owing to defective payment the professors again fell into great need.[2] The provincial Estates to which in the years 1604 and 1605 Duke Philip Julius had applied for a subsidy, because 'the salaries of the teachers were so small that no learned people could live on them,' answered that they were 'well disposed towards the liberal arts,' but that owing to the numbers of taxes imposed at the present day they were 'not in a position to grant anything for the object mentioned.'[3] It was not till 1604

[1] Kosegarten, i. 186, 190–191; cf. ii. 126. Later on from thirty to sixty enrolments took place on an average every year; in 1617–1618 the number amounted to 109. *Ibid.* i. 224, 229. ** A few contributions on the 'Sitten und Einrichtungen der Universität Greifswald im 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert' are given by G. Liebe in the *Zeitschr. für Kulturgeschichte*, 1895, pp. 373–379.

[2] Kosegarten, i. 201–202, 208–209, 235–236; cf. ii. 130, No. 38.

[3] Dähnert, i. 600, 609.

that the university carried out the long-cherished plan of starting a library to supply its needs. For the price of 2000 florins it bought of a Wittenberg burgomaster a collection of valuable books on all subjects; on condition that thirty florins should be paid immediately on delivery, and after that thirty yearly; the college means, however, were so limited that after more than forty years half of the purchasing price was still unpaid.[1] Sometimes the professorial chairs were very scantily filled; in 1566, for instance, there was only one single theology and one single jurisprudence teacher, while the medical faculty had not even one.[2]

In the newly founded university at Jena the salaries for all the professors amounted to the fixed sum of 1780 florins a year.[3]

At Wittenberg also the professors were by no means extravagantly paid;[4] for the purchase of books the university, even in 1589, was allowed no more than ninety florins a year.[5] In 1580 the Elector Augustus had granted his 'Collegium Augusti' 2824 florins for 150 stipendiates, in 1584 this number was reduced

[1] Kosegarten, i. 228.

[2] Cf. Joh. Frederus, Heft 2, 55, No. 35. Kosegarten, i. 193–194. 'The German universities after the Reformation, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had only a few professors, generally fourteen to eighteen. At Jena, in 1610, Piscator was the only theological lecturer. Krabbe, pp. 441, 457, 461. The medical faculty had completely died out there in 1568; at the end of that year the university was provided with one professor. *Etwas von Rostocker gelehrten Sachen*, i. 271.

[3] Kius, *Stipendiatenwesen*, p. 126. ** The statutes of the university of Jena of 1591, published by G. Mertz in the *Mitteil. der Gesellsch. für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, x. (1900) 56 ff.

[4] Cf. Grohmann, ii. 102, 104–107; Köhler, *Lebensbeschreibungen*, i. 169, note 2. ** Bruchmüller, pp. 28, 31, 37.

[5] Grohmann, ii. 99.

to 120, and under Christian I, in 1588, it was further reduced to seventy-five.[1] 'Sixty or eighty years ago,' wrote Fabricius, professor of Hebrew in 1599, to the reigning prince, 'the salaries of the professors were sufficient because at that time the prices of the necessaries of life were lower; since then, however, these prices have risen threefold: what formerly could be bought for six groschen can scarcely be obtained nowadays for a florin.' With his yearly pittance of 160 florins he could not possibly, he said, keep his wife, children, and servants, especially as he had to pay rent for his house; he begged therefore that an additional forty florins might be granted him.[2]

The same complaints proceeded from Heidelberg. In the fifteenth century the salaries of the professors sufficed amply for the simple needs of a life divided between spiritual and scholarly exercises. In secure money payments they received from 60 to 150 gold florins at a time when a florin would buy 90 to 100 pounds of beef, or 110 to 120 pounds of bacon, and a student paid for board and lodging ten florins a year.[3] Besides the fixed payments assured to them from the revenues of prebends the professors had the advantage of free official residence, and received the college fees

[1] Grohmann, i. 88, and ii. 110–111.

[2] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 29–31. In the year 1412 Nicholas Jauer, professor of theology at Heidelberg, received 120 florins as professor, and thirty as dean; a second and a third received each 120 florins; the first jurist received 120 florins, a second and a third eighty florins each, and a professor of medicine sixty florins. Thorbecke, *Anmerkungen*, pp. 16*–26.

[3] Grohmann, ii. 102–104. The Elector Augustus had settled that the stipendiates in the 'Convicts' were to be fed for four groschens a week; in 1582 the student had to pay five, in 1603 six, groschens a week. *Ibid.* ii. 108.

(which, however, were only paid later on) and the promotion fees. Those magisters who gave instruction in the liberal arts, and who wished, side by side with this teaching, to carry on their studies in the higher faculties, had free teaching in the college of artists and in the Dionysianum.[1]

In 1533, however, the condition of studies and professors at Heidelberg was at such a low ebb, that the distinguished philologist James Micyllus, professor of Greek, complained to his friend Melanchthon that his salary was only sixty florins, and that even this petty sum was considered waste, whereas they gladly paid 30,000 florins and even more for a horse for the Elector.[2] On sixty florins a year, said Micyllus in 1537, in a memorandum to the university, even were he a single man, he could not keep up a respectable appearance; how, then, was he to maintain his numerous family, especially as all other efforts to add something to his income only brought in a very meagre supplement? He begged that his salary might at least be made up to 100 florins. But the senate answered that the means of the university were so circumscribed that they could only raise his salary to eighty florins; to pay 100 florins was impossible. The Elector, who was then appealed to, refused to contribute anything: he signified to the senate that it had better give the petitioner the dis-

[1] Thorbecke, p. 66, and *Anmerkungen*, pp. 16* and 58*. In 1550 Pope Julius III gave full power to his nuncio in Germany to incorporate with the university deserted convents and Church goods up to the value in rents of 2000 ducats. Winkelmann, i. 250 253. Concerning the particular convents and abbeys which, on the ground of this plenary power, were incorporated with the university by the nuncio Sebastian Pighinus, see pp. 2 4–259.

[2] Classen, *Micyllus*, pp. 114–115.

missal that he was courting.[1] In 1571 the university represented to the reigning prince that everything had become so much dearer, and that a few years ago 100 florins went further than twice that sum did nowadays. The chair of ethics had been empty for the last two years, 'owing to its scanty payment even the village schoolmaster had refused it'; they begged the Elector to add 16 malters (cords) of corn and six ohms of wine to the income of each professor. Frederic III, however, would only agree to an 'addition' of sixteen cords of corn and three ohms of wine out of the revenues of the college.[2] Exclusive of these 'additions' the whole body of professors of the four faculties, fifteen in number, received between them in ordinary and extraordinary payments the collective annual sum of 3150 florins. Of these fifteen professors six belonged to the faculty of arts, and these had to be satisfied with the collective sum of 780 florins.[3] In February 1595 the rector handed in to the Elector Frederic IV a fuller university report concerning the 'exhaustion of its treasury, the wretched pay of the professors, and the vacating of important chairs,' with a lengthy petition for redress of these abuses.[4]

At Tübingen, in 1542, the professors of art were not paid more than eighty florins a year; the highest salary which any, and that only very few, of the professors at this university received was 200 florins; the usual

[1] Winkelmann, ii. 88, No. 809, 810, and p. 91, No. 838, 839. Classen, pp. 139–1 0.

[2] Winkelmann, ii. 134, No. 1170.

[3] Hautz, ii. 100–101. 'No honorarium paid to professors is mentioned.' This rate of payment was at the period of 'the greatest prosperity the university ever attained to'! *Ibid.* ii. 110.

[4] Winkelmann, ii. 169, No. 1407.

amount was 40, 72, 80, 120, 140, 160 florins. Only a few specially privileged professors were allowed free residence.[1]

But however small the salaries were at Heidelberg and Tübingen, the university of Basle, in 1586, represented to the council that 'in both those towns, although everything was much cheaper there, the professors were paid double as much as the Basle professors.'[2]

When Count John of Nassau-Katzenelnbogen, in the year 1577, wanted to found a college at Siegen, a most minute calculation was made as to how much 'a professor and four other persons' would need for yearly income. The sum fixed on, exclusive of 'paper, books and small casual receipts at weddings, baptisms, banquets, and small windfalls from Church or council,' amounted to 234 florins three albuses, among which the following items were set down: 'for residence, 7 florins; for dress and shoes for himself, wife and child, 28 florins; for domestic wages, 3 florins; for corn (five cords yearly),

[1] Hoffmann, pp. 48–52. 'Only by much sacrifice and constant care was it possible at Tübingen,' says Hoffmann (p. 56), 'to maintain the balance between income and expenditure; this was manifestly a result of the general disturbance in social life, especially in domestic economy, which had set in since the foundation of the university, and which the successors of the noble-hearted founder (cf. the year 1477) had not realised as fully as they should have done in order to insure the maintenance and carrying on of the institution bequeathed to them.

[2] Thommen, 52–53, p. 48 ff., where there are fuller details about the salaries at Basle. ** The library also at Basle came in for very little care and attention. The collection of books made by Bishop Johann von Venningen (1458–1478) (and greatly enriched later on), which was kept in the spacious hall called the Doctors' Hall, built for college festivities, 'was very badly cared for after the Reformation, and finally dispersed. The first trace of any regular payments in connexion with the university library occurs in 1550, when the deputies acknowledged that the yearly sum of ten florins was to be paid to a one-time rector of the college for procuring books.' Lutz, *Gesch. der Universität Basel*, pp. 124–125. Cf. Thommen, p. 90 ff. concerning the later increase of this sum.

50 florins; for meat, 34 florins and 18 albuses; for beer and wine, 47 florins 9 albuses, and so forth.'[1] The college was opened at Herborn instead of at Siegen, on July 1, 1584, and yet the remuneration fixed for the professors was not more than from 40 to 200 florins. The payments, moreover, were so irregular and 'left so much to be desired,' that the professor Hermann Gernberg, who was to receive 200 florins,[2] complained on February 17, 1585, of severe want: he had only just received one quarter's pay, he said, and 'in order not to go without bread he had borrowed four "Mesten" of corn, and all through the winter had drunk nothing but water.'[3]

There was scarcely a single German professor who was as well off as an Italian fencing-master, whom the Landgrave Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt established at the university of Giessen in 1602, with a salary of 500 thalers,[4] or as the court-fool of the Saxon Elector, Hensel, who, besides 'lodging at the court, had three meals: breakfast, dinner, supper, and drink before going to bed (*Schlaftrunk*), lights, and court attire,' and had a salary of 150 gold florins.[5]

The miserable and insufficient pay of the professors explains why they sought all manner of other employments, and often undertook work which was by no means suitable to their position and which greatly lowered their standing.

'The salaries,' said the Rostock jurist, Ernest

[1] Steubing, p. 14.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 101.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 24. For a long time the college was without any library; in 1607 there was a collection of 1218 books, pp. 161–162.

[4] *Archiv für Hessen-Darmstädtische Gesch.* xi. 286–287.

[5] Ebeling, *Friedr. Taubmann*, p. 89.

Cothmann, 'are so poor that it is nothing short of murder to forbid the professors to do anything else that they can to add to their incomes.'[1] At Jena the professors had the right to brew as much beer, free of liquor duty, in the college brew-house as they wanted for their household, and they were also allowed to take wine for themselves from the Rosenkeller, a wine store belonging to the university, without paying duty. Many of the professors, however, abused this privilege to carry on the trade of beer and wine retailers, and to keep public-houses, where the students were in the habit of drinking and carousing. The university inspectors often asked the question whether it would not be more advantageous for the professors to hold these famous 'freshman-banquets,' in their own houses.[2] At Wittenberg the Elector John George, after an inspection had taken place in 1614, issued the order that 'The professors of theology and jurisprudence, who had adequate incomes, were henceforth entirely to give up retailing beer and wine; the other professors were forbidden to invite guests.' 'Likewise all retailing of wine and beer in the college of the jurists, as being an injury to the Elector as proprietor of the liquor duties, and also as being harmful to the young and to the burghers, must be abolished.' Also it is by no means suitable, and cannot be allowed in the university, that during the lectures 'in the new drinking-room in the great auditorium of the college of the Elector Frederic, guests should be entertained and should provoke others to inattention.' On penalty of a fine of one florin the students were to be forbidden holding drinking bouts

[1] Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 44.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 283.

in this college while the lectures were going on.[1] In the Heidelberg Statutes of 1558 permission was given to the professors to sell twelve ohms of wine yearly.[2]

But numerous as were the complaints sent in to universities about 'extremely improper proceedings of the professors' in regard to selling beer and wine, and making profits out of carousals, there was incomparably more frequent complaining of the absences of teachers and the neglect of lectures. These offences also were partly due to the low rate of remuneration, which forced the professors to seek additional work, but partly too they arose from laziness and indifference.

From Rostock John Culmann wrote in 1555: 'The professors are nearly all absent, making a tour of inspection through the whole of Mecklenburg; there are scarcely 100 students here, and even these few are preparing to leave.'[3] In 1589 the Mecklenburg provincial Estates complained that 'the professors at Rostock pay no attention to the young; the professors of law exhaust the land, seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the bondmen of the nobility, and prefer to serve foreigners rather than their own fatherland.'[4] In May 1604 Peter Fabricius wrote from Rostock to his friend George Calixtus: 'Nothing can exceed the state of somnolence which prevails in all the faculties. Some of the men who have been decorated with the title of professors for a period of three years have not delivered a single lecture during all this time, have not even themselves once entered a lecture-hall.

[1] 'Das kurfürstliche Decret [the Electoral Decree] von 1614,' contributed by J. O. Opel in the *Neue Mitteilungen des Thüringen-Sächsischen Vereins*, xi. 206–215.

[2] Tholuck, i. 45.

[3] Görges, p. 10, note 2.

[4] Franck, *Mecklenburg*, book II. p. 67.

One may scatter money here with ease, but I doubt whether one can reap learning.' [1]

From Wittenberg also there were repeated complaints of the frequent and lengthy absences of the professors.[2]

For Leipzig the Elector George issued in July 1616 the following enactment: 'Whereas hitherto great want of diligence has been observed among nearly all the professors in the matters of lectures and disputations, we decree that in future every professor of the three higher faculties shall lecture regularly four times a week.' [3]

'Lamentable in the extreme were the conditions at the university of Helmstädt founded by Duke Julius of Brunswick.' In 1597, after an inspection had taken place, the following stringent ducal edict was issued: 'In appointing a professor care must be taken to see that he comes of respectable antecedents, that he is not a drunkard or a debauchee, not quarrelsome or choleric, not lazy, indolent and negligent of duty.' In 1602 it came to the knowledge of the consistorium that 'no lectures at all were given, and that in the "Convicts" there were more soldiers than students.' In consequence of this another inspection was held. The report of this inspection of January 1603 consists almost entirely of a string of complaints against the university. 'Whereas the professors,' it said among other things, 'regardless of earlier behests, had not sent in their lecture syllabuses, with an account of the numbers of lectures given and omitted, their *famulus* must now have extra pay and keep the record for them.' As there was

[1] Henke, *Calixtus*, i. 86, note 2; cf. p. 110, note 4.
[2] Görges, p. 10, note 2.
[3] *Codex Augusteus*, i. 917.

delay in carrying out this order, the 'whole body of ecclesiastical and secular councillors of the consistory general' addressed themselves straight to the *famulus* himself, and desired him 'to send in the lists of the lectures which the professors had omitted'; if anyone hindered him from doing this he must make known the person's name 'in order that proper measures should be taken.' Soon after this the whole university came up with the petition that 'they might be graciously spared inspection by their *famuli*, because it was a disgraceful and unheard-of measure, and one which might bring them into great contempt with the students and with foreigners.'[1] Whether it led to greater industry among the professors cannot be ascertained; but how things fared a decade later may be gathered from a despatch of the reigning prince in 1614, in which he writes to the professors: 'Our loyal province of Wolfenbüttel complains sorely that all you gentlemen (though with the exception of two or three professors, whose industry we note with pleasure) in the course of sixteen, twenty, and even more weeks—yea, verily in the whole year—have not given a single lecture, and have thus squandered the precious time and neglected the young students.' The Helmstädt preacher, Julius Strube, calls the professors there 'a lazy race of drones.'[2]

Setting the university beadles to watch over the professors was certainly bad enough, but the Helmstädters were mistaken if they thought it an 'unheard-of thing.' In other universities also the same kind of supervision, either through students or through the beadles, had been established—for instance at Marburg

[1] Henke, *Calixtus*, i. 90–95.

[2] Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 122.

and Giessen.[1] As regards Marburg, the government had found out in 1549 'that some of the professors were very negligent about their lectures, and that some did not lecture publicly at all.'[2]

At the university of Basle the beadle was expected 'to present himself every other Saturday to each of the professors and ask whether they had been diligent, and they had to give him, quite truthfully, the number of omitted lectures.' According to a decree of 1571 each professor of the three higher faculties was fined half a florin for every lecture he missed giving; for the masters of the faculty of arts the fine was reduced to three to five *Batzen*. The issue of this decree, however, had such slight results that it had to be renewed in the years 1573, 1576, 1578. The excuse brought forward by the professors, that they could not lecture because they had no audiences, went for nothing with the magistrates. Each professor, they decreed in 1583, must 'be in the lecture hall at the time fixed for the lecture and wait there half an hour for the chance of any students coming in.'[3] 'Numbers of professors of the university,' says a petition of grievances of the Basle Council in 1601, 'miss out their lectures shamefully, and often do not lecture at all the whole year through'; the rector ought 'in case of repetition of the offence, at once to dismiss the lecturer, and propose another as his successor.'[4]

Only very rarely does one find in the annals of the university a meed of praise such as Count John of Nassau

[1] Rommel, *Hessische Gesch.* iii. 387–388. Buchner, pp. 255–256 For the supervision at Ingolstadt, see above, p. 242.

[2] Hildebrand, *Urkundenbuch der Universität Marburg*, p. 48.

[3] Thommen, pp. 57–58. [4] *Ibid.* p. 53.

bestowed on the two professors of theology, Caspar Olevian and John Piscator at the college at Herborn: 'Both of them,' he said in 1585, 'would consider it a deadly sin if they were to miss preaching a sermon or delivering one or two lectures.' [1]

The most damning sentence on the German colleges was uttered by the Swiss preacher, Rudolf Walther. While travelling in Germany he had visited many of them and formed close relations with distinguished Protestant theologians; he gave the result of his experiences, in 1568, as follows: 'The German colleges are at present in such a condition that, beyond the conceit and the negligence of the professors and the flagrant immorality which prevails in them, there is nothing noteworthy about them. Heidelberg, however, is prized higher than others, the disturbances threatening in all directions do not allow this university to go to sleep.' [2]

The Heidelberg university as head centre of Calvinistic culture rejoiced in a large attendance of natives and foreigners. The yearly matriculations amounted on the average to 150 to 200; 213 fresh students were enrolled in 1568, 166 in 1569. But neither the number of lectures nor that of listeners was encouraging. When, on March 30, 1569, the Elector Frederic III required the professors to state accurately how often each of

[1] *Zeitschr. für die histor. Theologie*, xi. Heft 4, p. 108. Count John had built the school at Herborn in 1584, 'because he had observed the wretched condition nowadays of the schools connected with the reformed religion, not only how badly they were attended, while the papal Jesuit schools were strong and flourishing and multiplied rapidly; but that also as a rule in all the Christian schools, by the instigation of Satan, countless abuses and defects and gross ignorance prevailed, so that the most important objects to be attained are thrown to the winds and left out of account.'

[2] Döllinger, i. 509.

them lectured and how many listeners they had, the report was as follows: In the theological faculty, which had three professors, 'Boquin explains the Epistle to the Ephesians, does not count his hearers carefully, thinks there may be forty-five; Tremellius explains the Book of Job, does not count his hearers; their number is about thirty-five. Zanchius is at the fair at Frankfort-on-the-Main.' Of the four professors of the faculty of jurisprudence the first had about eight, the second, according to the account of the *famulus*, about twenty-five to thirty, the third 'sometimes more sometimes less,' the fourth ten to fifteen listeners. The entries respecting the six professors of the faculty of arts are as follows: 'Strigel, professor of ethics, lectures on Aristotle's "Ethica ad Nicomachum," and has according to time and opportunity, sometimes more sometimes fewer hearers. Xylander lectures on the Organum of Aristotle, does not count his hearers because he thinks it beneath the dignity of a regular professor to do so; besides, in such matters numbers are not decisive. Niger, professor of physics, has an audience of twenty-five. Witekind, professor of Greek literature, and Grynaeus, professor of mathematics, are at the Frankfort fair. Pithopöus, professor of the Latin language, lectures on different books of Cicero, has never troubled himself about the number of his hearers; there may at present be about fifty.' The most discouraging report was that of the medical faculty. Of its three professors one was absent, the other two had between them only eight or nine listeners.[1]

Thus in proportion to the number of students—about 800—entered in the college books the figures

[1] Hautz, ii. 58–60.

were extremely low, and gave ample cause for complaint.

At other universities things were even worse. If, on the one hand, there was well-grounded dissatisfaction at the idleness and negligence of very many professors, the complaints of 'almost daily increasing laziness, neglect of lectures, rowdiness, insubordination and vicious living' among the students were incomparably worse, and grew louder from one decade to another.

As at Vienna, Ingolstadt, Freiburg-in-the-Breisgau, and other universities under Catholic management, so, too, at the Protestantised colleges, the growing demoralisation of the students had been largely caused by the decadence of discipline in the colleges themselves and in the Bursas, which had formerly been under strict control and supervision.

'The decay of all discipline and order in the high schools,' said a Protestant preacher in a sermon in 1564, 'comes chiefly from the deterioration of the colleges, which in the times of the papacy, as you well remember, were well looked after as regards discipline, while the students were kept up to diligence and industry.'[1]

The university at Leipzig, even before it became a Protestant institution, repeatedly declared that 'The free, uncontrolled life of the students in the houses of burghers led to turbulence, riots, and even killing, for the students were not forbidden to carry all sorts of weapons.'[2] In a report to Duke Henry of Saxony, in

[1] *Eine heilsame Predigt*, see above, p. 209 n. 1.

[2] See the 'Schriftstücke' in Stübel, pp. 274, 279, 280, 286, 287, 316, 353.

1539, it says, concerning a rising that had taken place, 'it was chiefly got up by the students who live in the town, boarding in the houses of burghers, and are left entirely to their own devices; they obey nobody, and they drag the other students into all sorts of misconduct.' [1]

The highly esteemed Lutheran jurist, Melchior von Ossa, wrote in 1555, that at the time of his youth, under Duke George the Bearded, the Leipzig university had been in a flourishing condition; now it was a poor, disconsolate, almost ruined institution. 'The university,' he said, 'has been endowed by princes with many privileges and liberties; there is a goodly number of free places in colleges and of stipends, and if only the old rules and regulations were followed, everything would be in a prosperous condition. We remember with pleasure the time when all the colleges were full of learned people and students, when all the rooms and apartments were occupied. In all the colleges there were magisters who had a number of the boys to board and lodge with them, and these boys they placed under the special supervision of superior "old bachelors." None of these boys dared go into the town without the master's leave.' Ossa recalls the great college, the *Fürsten- und Frauen-Collegium*, and the learned collegiates, who had their meals at a general table, and who had the opportunity of studying the sciences: 'all this, however, had come to an end.' With no slight sorrow of heart he was compelled to recognise this. 'Not one master now presided over the meals of the boys; the beautiful buildings were going to ruin; the young people have to lodge with some burgher or tradesman, where they

[1] Stübel, p. 520.

often meet strange company, hear improper talk, and are already in youth sadly poisoned with scandal.' [1]

'When I see,' said Melanchthon in a public speech to the university at Wittenberg, in 1537, 'how in these days discipline is trodden down and impudence rules, I am filled with profound grief. Never before were the young so rebellious against authority: they follow only their own will, and refuse to submit to any other. They are deaf to the Word of God and the laws of man.' 'It is not the will of God,' he said four years later, addressing the students, 'that you should all come here like a drunken crowd to the Bacchanalia, or like Centaurs to a feast.' [2] Luther also declared it to be 'unhappily all too true' that the young nowadays 'were wild and demoralised, and would no longer allow themselves to be guided.' 'They go on in their senseless way, are dissolute and uneducated; they grow up in their sensuality and wantonness.' Above all, drunkenness had 'now come in everywhere like a flood and was deluging everything.' Writing in January 1544 to the Elector John Frederic about secret betrothals at Wittenberg, he said, 'We have an immense mass of young people of the male sex from all sorts of countries,

[1] Von Langenn, *Melchior von Ossa*, pp. 183–185. ** Concerning student life at Leipzig in the time of the Elector Augustus (1553–1586) see P. Zink in the *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, 1899, pp. 199–218, 288–301. There, and at pp. 209 ff., 296 ff. he gives accounts of the costs of university life at Leipzig; at p. 212 ff., he speaks of the extravagant dressing of the students, and at p. 288 ff. of the excesses and coarseness of the students in private life.

[2] *Corp. Reform.* x. 934, 939. Concerning a student disturbance at Wittenberg in 1529 (the students intended to set fire to the town at ten different spots) see Förstemann, *Neue Mitteilungen*, viii. 2, 51–71. ** Schmidt in the *Histor. Jahrbuch* (xvii. 77 ff.) has drawn attention to the opinions of Oldecop and A. Burrer on the condition of the Wittenberg university in the sixteenth century.

and so the young womankind have become excited, and run after the youths into their apartments . . . and I hear that many parents are said to have ordered their sons home, and have said that if they send them to us we hang wives round their necks.' 'We are living in Sodom and Babylon,' he said in a letter to Prince George of Anhalt; 'everything grows worse from day to day.' The year before his death he left Wittenberg one day, and charged his wife to sell everything. 'Maybe Wittenberg, as seems likely, with its government will catch a dance: not St. Vitus' or St. John's, but the beggar's and Beelzebub's. At all events away out of this Sodom!' [1]

'Young students, future theologians,' said Luther's intimate friend Mathesius, 'bleat and scream like wild asses; and whereas pitmen and common workmen are educated by contact with better society, these fellows have to be tamed and disciplined by the police: and then they are expected to preach the Gospel like true ministers of Christ! Is it possible?' [2]

Caspar Schwenkfeld declared—and no one contradicted him—that the distracted, demoralised condition of things at Wittenberg was deplorable; there was no discipline nor fear of God, nothing but bold, insolent, insubordinate spirits, especially among the pupils of Melanchthon, 'so that Doctor Major is said to have complained lately in a sermon, and to have said: "Our Wittenberg is renowned far and wide, and strangers think that we are all angels here; but when they come here they find devils incarnate."' [3] In an account

[1] See our remarks, vol. vi. pp. 276-277. Letter in De Wette, v. 615.

[2] *Historia Christi*, ii. 112[a].

[3] *Andere Verantwortung auf Melanchthon's Beschuldigung* (1556) Bl. A 3[a].

given in 1557 by a native of Breslau studying at Wittenberg we read: 'There is so much that is painfully distressing at Wittenberg, that when Melanchthon is lecturing the tears often start from his eyes, and he frequently says: the boundless impudence of the young is a sign that the end of the world is near.' [1] Against this insubordinate conduct of the students stringent prohibitions were repeatedly issued. 'The students in all the faculties,' says an edict of 1546, 'shall not wear slashed or short clothes, but their clothes shall be of a respectable and seemly length, for it shows great want of respect and propriety for young students to appear before honourable and well-behaved women in short clothes.' [2] 'The fatal decay

[1] Löschke, p. 184.

[2] Grohmann, i. 208. A similar edict appeared again in 1562. Meyer, *Studentica*, p. 5, where there is also an expression of opinion from Christopher Hegendorfinus, of the year 1529. At Jena the students were forbidden to wear 'pump hose, very short clothes, and lappeted [or flapped] breeches.' Kius, *Stipendiatenwesen*, p. 148. Even at the close of the Middle Ages there were already frequent instances of unseemly and insubordinate conduct among students. At Leipzig, in 1482, the rector, Andrew Friessner, was obliged to issue a stern injunction forbidding 'the unheard-of luxuriousness and the objectionable nature of the clothes and the postures which had come into vogue,' above all the indecent exposure of the body, as well as the wearing of swords, knives, daggers and other weapons. This prohibition led to 'terrible tumults and risings,' so that the rector and other members of the college were scarcely sure of their lives. In 1510 there was a complaint from 'the Saxon nation' that 'the students, magisters and doctors wear objectionable, worldly and scandalous clothes, hats, knives and weapons just like laymen; this causes great demoralisation at the university.' Stübel, pp. 226–231, 379. Also at Heidelberg, Vienna, and other universities, it was necessary, during the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to issue constant edicts against extravagant and unsuitable dress. Cf. Thorbecke, pp. 61 and 53*, note. 'We are confronted with the difference between the higher faculties, to which access was not so easy, and the lower ones which admitted all without distinction. Of the arduous and time-consuming duties of minute disciplinary supervision in the higher faculties there was no question. The students of law were older men of steady behaviour,

of discipline,' wrote Ursinus in 1556, 'is wrenching the bridle from the hands of the teachers at Wittenberg itself.' When on one occasion Melanchthon rushed in among the students engaged in a nocturnal fray, to stop their proceedings, one of them attacked him with drawn sword. Wild drinking orgies and fights were of almost daily occurrence, and there was scarcely a dwelling-place which was safe from attack.[1] In 1560, a few months after Melanchthon's death, the senate of the university had to report 'the abominable crime' of a pack of turbulent students, who in the night had stormed the house of 'the most dear master' in which his daughter's husband Caspar Peucer, then rector of the college, was living, and had smashed the windows and broken in

who had already taken their degree in the faculty of arts, who not seldom stood at the head of the university, and who at any rate pursued their studies with a full sense of their importance and with the calm seriousness of a conscious purpose. In their case it was scarcely necessary to insist on the prescribed style of dress and manners, or on diligence in study.' The same with the theological faculty. 'Discipline and order scarcely needed enforcement by law with the scholars of the theological faculty, who were almost without exception masters of arts and well imbued with the exigencies of propriety; nevertheless it seemed from time to time advisable, since any breach of propriety here might be specially invidious, to recall to mind the well-known regulations about dress.' Thorbecke, pp. 103–104, 109. At Vienna in 1513 strict rules were again laid down respecting the dress of the students and bachelors, and the carrying of arms was again forbidden. Kink, i. 228, note, 266. In the course of the sixteenth century, owing to the general spread of demoralisation in most of the colleges, even in the higher faculties, the dress-mania exceeded all bounds. 'The teachers of our universities,' wrote Joachim Westphal in 1565, 'dress like knights, in short, slashed [ragged] lappeted garments, like apes they go about uncovered, taking such coarseness for manliness; they look more like knights' stableboys, journeymen, clowns, than heads of schools' (*Hoffartsteufel*, fol. R. 7). The students imitate their teachers, and so, to quote the words of Westphal, nowhere as at the universities 'did one see such strange, idiotic, monstrous, eccentric, luxurious, frivolous, impudent, showy, shameless attire.' The universities served as patterns to the gymnasia; see above, p. 80 ff.

[1] Cf. Gillet, *Crato von Krafftheim*, i. 101–102, 105–106; Hautz, i. 91.

the walls.[1] In 1562 the general licentiousness and insubordination had reached such a frightful pitch, that the complete cessation of all study and a reign of cyclopean barbarism was apprehended.[2] 'Nothing causes more alarm to virtue-loving men,' said Professor Paul Eber, in the same year in a public speech, 'than the break-down of all moral restraints, the contempt of all discipline, the dare-devil blustering, raging, pilfering, which we observe even in those who have scarcely emerged from boyhood.'[3] In an academical report of 1564, we read: 'We are learning from experience what manner of life is led by numbers at the universities. All complain about it, and respectable people are greatly distressed. We will not, however, make public our disgrace by narrative: the worst evils are drunkenness and insubordination.'[4] 'It is notorious all over the land,' wrote at the same time the Ratisbon preacher Waldner, 'how godless are the ways of some among the Wittenberg students, how they indulge in gambling, drinking, immorality, cursing and blaspheming.'[5] Two sons of Duke Philip of Pomerania, who were studying at Wittenberg in the years 1563–1565, found such barrenness of intellectual life in the place, and so much coarseness, depravity, vulgarity, debauchery of all sorts, that they went away. They had taken up their abode in the former Augustinian convent, which Luther had received as a present from the Elector of Saxony, and where his son Martin then kept a hotel. They could not stay there, however, for over their apartments

[1] Strobel, *Neue Beiträge*, iᵇ. 106–108.
[2] Arnold, *Unparteiische Kirchen- u. Ketzerhistorie*, i. 715–716.
[3] Döllinger, ii. 160. [4] *Ibid.* i. 514.
[5] Waldner, *Verzeichniss der beschwerlichen Punkte*, Bl. B *b*.

there were seven rooms full of students of all nations, French, Polish, Suabian, and Franconian, whose disorderly conduct by day and night caused great disturbance. Their request to their landlord that he would maintain order and remove these students was all in vain; for the degenerate son of Luther, fallen in fortune, sunk in coarse excesses, was deaf to everything which was likely to diminish the earnings he gained in unrighteous ways.' 'With drinking and other matters that need not be mentioned,' wrote one of the Dukes, 'things are more disorderly at Wittenberg than anywhere else, I should think.' [1] The students were also notorious for stealing game. They belonged to the species of dangerous poachers. According to a report of the year 1574, they used to sally forth in gangs of eight, ten or more, armed with rifles, and threaten the Electoral foresters, and offer them armed resistance.[2]

The Elector Augustus once threatened to seize the professors one after another by the hair, and to send two companies of soldiers into the town if the univer-

[1] Medem, *Die Universitätsjahre der Herzoge Ernst Ludwig und Barnim von Pommern* (in Wittenberg, 1563–1565), Anklam, 1867; *Baltische Studien*, Jahrg. ix. Heft 2, 105–110. The Dane Bording sent his nephew to Wittenberg in 1559 against the will of his father, who said the university there was a 'schola insolentiae et petulantiae.' Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 276. Concerning the licentiousness of student life at that time see also the memoirs of Magister Victorin Schönfeld. Cf. Bechstein, *Kalendertagebuch*, pp. 10–11.

[2] Falke, *Kurfürst August*, p. 341, note 18. Concerning the devastation of one of the Elector's vineyards by a gang of students, it says in the academic papers in 1565: 'Ante paucos dies quidem scholastici facta irruptione in vineam Illustrissimi principis Ducis Saxoniae Electoris, multa non tantum petulanter sed scelerate ac crudeliter designarunt, rupta maceria, effractis foribus, fornace, pulsatis miseris mulierculis, quarum altera fuit puerpera, caede etiam, ut audimus, intentata misero infanti vagienti in cunis, ipsa puerpera vix manus horum crudeles effugit.' Grohmann, i. 202.

sities did not keep up stricter discipline and jurisdiction.[1] In 1583 the following Electoral command was issued: 'Whosoever commits any offence in the nature of challenges, waylaying, or such-like, or knowingly harbours, aids and abets any such insolent offender, gives him counsel, support and supplies, shall without further process be sentenced to the highest penalty and executed with the sword.' A penal edict of the Elector Christian I of the year 1587 was directed against 'the turbulent and insolent students' who 'in their nocturnal swaggerings in the streets knock down all whom they meet'; 'above all they are seen going about at night with spears, poles, long or short firearms and helmets, storming houses, yelling and screaming in hideous fashion, and even desecrating the dead in their graves.' In 1591 the students were again admonished to abstain from 'house storming, waylaying, nocturnal assaults, throwing people out of windows,' &c., &c. The students carried arms of all sorts, 'swords, knives, daggers, bullets, hatchets, crossbows, hammers, and rifles,' and fought duels in the public streets. Penal injunctions, intended to stop these proceedings, had no effect.[2]

When Frederic Taubmann, professor of poetry, delivered up the university into other hands in 1608, he described its general demoralisation in a public speech.[3] He uttered special warnings against the love of drink and its consequences. His warnings, however, cannot

[1] Ebeling, *Friedr. Taubmann*, p. 115.

[2] *Leges acad. Witenberg.* pp. 172, 181, 185. O. Dolch, pp. 63 ff., 70. Meiners, iv. 53.

[3] He published this speech under the title: *Rector sive Hercules Academicus*, Wittenberg, 1609. Cf. Grohmann, ii. 216. Ebeling, *Friedr. Taubmann*, p. 124.

have had much effect as he was himself only too much addicted to this vice; he not unfrequently took part in the drinking bouts of the students, at which times he often lost all mastery of himself, and at the Electoral court, where on all sorts of occasions he had to play the part of a 'jovial councillor,' he sometimes became so intoxicated that he rolled about on the floor, was then carried to the stables and laid on a bed of straw, while the stablemen made him the butt of their low insolence. The Electoral privy councillor Roling once told a friend the following tale, the incidents of which he had witnessed in person. The Elector Christian II, one day, at a meal in Dresden, asked the Wittenberg professor of poetry for information about the general behaviour of the students there. Taubmann remained silent, making strange faces all the time. As soon as they all got up from table he took the dagger of one of the courtiers, went down with it into the courtyard, tore about there with frightful yells and screams, dug up the stone pavement with the dagger, threatened the men-servants and maid-servants who had come out to see what was happening, tore his clothes from his body, and in short behaved as if he was quite demented. The Elector, attracted by the noise to the window, ordered Taubmann to come up, and asked him what all this foolery was about. 'Your Electoral Grace,' he answered, 'I was only giving you a mild representation of the general behaviour of the Wittenberg students.' [1]

[1] Ebeling, pp. 66, 80–84. 'One day Christian II ordered the professor not to leave the table until he was quite drunk. Before it came to this, however, Taubmann vomited all over the table, and exclaimed: Gentlemen all, if your carousing is no disgrace, my spitting is also no shame!' p. 170, No. 22. That a 'renowned poet and university professor' should have filled the post of court jester at Dresden 'cast a slur on the status

The fact that the university, in 1596, found itself compelled to head its regulations with the injunction to the students 'Be not thieves!' [1] was connected with their extravagant manner of life, and the numerous debts which they heaped up and could not pay. 'Two evils,' says a university edict of 1571, 'injure our reputation outside and sap the foundations of our discipline; and we must confess that all means hitherto used against them have been fruitless. The first of these abuses is the preposterous debts of the students, who waste and squander everything; the second, from which the first to a great extent proceeds, is that most of the young people wander about, without any overseers to watch and direct their studies and their conduct, and to control them in the expenditure of their money.' [2]

In considering all these objectionable circumstances it must, however, be borne in mind that the town was filled to overflowing with students from nearly all the nations of Europe, and that the maintenance of order and discipline was full of difficulties. In the first half of the century the university counted sometimes 3000 students; in 1598 the number recorded is over 2000; in 1613 there were no less than 786 matriculations.[3]

A special cause of ruin to the evangelical colleges, and one recognised by the Protestants themselves, was the perpetual bickerings and theological dissensions going on between the professors, and taken part in by the students, who insulted and persecuted unpopular

of all university teachers in Saxony, as well in the eyes of the officials as of the nobles of the land,' p. 88.

[1] Cf. Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 273.

[2] Meiners, iv. 79–83; cf pp. 73–78.

[3] Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, ii. 2, 142. ** See above, p. 266, n. 1.

teachers; under such circumstances discipline was impossible.'

'One has only to look,' says a sermon of 1571, 'at Wittenberg, at Jena, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, at Königsberg, and at nearly all the universities which ought to prosper under the light of the dear Gospel, to see how much quarrelling and envy, hatred and persecution and expulsion there has been, and still is, among the masters, and that it would be indeed a great and mighty wonder of God if all the young pupils and students of these colleges did not fall into all these vices, and become many of them out and out corrupted.' [1]

The university of Königsberg, which the preacher puts last on his list, was founded by Duke Albert of Prussia in 1544, on the model of the Wittenberg university, as a nursery ground of Protestantism for the whole north-eastern part of the empire. In his foundation charter the Duke stated that he had realised that in most of the universities the manner of life was unworthy not only of Christian places of education but also of civil society in general; he intended his institution, he said, to be a training place of piety and virtue. In the statutes the students were enjoined, under penalty of incarceration and relegation, to attend the theological lectures and the Church services; even the doctors and professors, in case of any disorderliness, were threatened with incarceration or even corporal punishment. Two years later came the complaint that discipline was completely dissolved, and that an incredible spirit of

Christliche Osterpredig über das Wort unsers einigen Erlösers und Seligmachers: Der Friede sei mit Euch (A Christian Easter sermon on the words of our only Redeemer and Saviour: 'Peace be with you'). 1571 Bl. C².

defiance and insubordination reigned among the students. In the academic laws it was necessary to strictly forbid storming houses, breaking in doors, devastating gardens. The fights between the students and the artisans and tradesmen were so fierce that they even came to bloodshed and killing, and it was therefore proposed to remove the university to Wehlau. In 1553 Sabinus, Melanchthon's son-in-law, rector of the institute, declared that all moral discipline was at an end. The Duke was obliged to issue an order forbidding the disgraceful practice of distributing 'scurrilous and abominable pasquilles and lampoons in which the professors were attacked.' Three of the professors, who had stirred up the students to rowdyism, were faced with the prospect of expulsion. The continuous quarrelling and hatred among the teachers split up the students also into bitter parties. The theologian Osiander, in passionate disagreement with Joachim Mörlin, did not consider his life safe, and he used to carry arms with him into the pulpit and the lecture-hall. It was said of him that he was always accompanied 'by two devils in the form of black dogs, who were not seen by everybody; also that he had a devil that always wrote for him in an upper room while he was eating and drinking downstairs with his companions.' At the time of his death in 1552, it was said that on his death-bed he had bellowed like an ox possessed by the devil, and that the devil had twisted his neck and torn his body in pieces. As all Osiander's opponents were by degrees deposed, the whole philosophical faculty was well-nigh dissolved. Almost from the first founding of the institution, said the Duke, 'the discord and dissensions among the members of the college had filled him with

trouble and anxiety. Professor David Voit said in 1567 that he feared the inroad of 'a barbarous devastation.' [1]

At the university at Frankfort-on-the-Oder [2] Caspar Hofmann, professor of philosophy and medicine, made a public speech, in 1578, on the threatened barbarism (*die drohende Barbarei*), in which he specially mentioned among the causes of the increasing decline of the universities the fact that the teachers were no longer united and on terms of friendship, but for the most part hostile and embittered towards one another, especially when they were in the bondage of any particular sect. 'Then everything must be settled according to their own notions; they defend their own opinions with the greatest fierceness and attack all others, seeking to overwhelm all who think differently from themselves with ridicule and shame; hatred and envy, malice and evil-speaking, slander and calumny are the results of such envenomed strife, and it is inevitable that the learned institutes should be corrupted by all these influences, and that discipline should be ruined.' [3]

For many decades the Frankfort university had been a chief centre of theological contention and of growing demoralisation. 'Sodom and Gomorrha, even

[1] Töppen, *Die Gründung der Universität Königsberg und das Leben des Sabinus*, pp. 121, 137, 213–214, 230. Döllinger, i. 519–522, and ii. 666, note. Concerning the theological dissensions see our fuller details vol. vii. pp. 12–18, 304–312.

[2] ** For the earlier history of the university at Frankfort-on-the-Oder to the time of its Protestantisation in 1540 cf. G. Bauch, 'Die Anfänge der Universität Frankfurt a. d. O. und die Entwickelung des wissenschaftlichen Lebens an der Hochschule (1506–1540)' in the *Texte und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, iii. Berlin, 1900.

[3] *De barbarie imminente*, Francofurti ad Od., 1578, B 4^b, C 5^b; cf. Döllinger, i. 509–511.

the Venusberg,' said the preacher and professor there, Andrew Musculus, 'are child's play compared with the immorality rampant here. If our grandparents, our Catholic ancestors, could see the world of to-day, especially the young world, they would be forced to shut their eyes, or else to spit at us. We are all crying out, and complaining that the young were never so wicked and degenerate as nowadays since the world began, and that they could not well be worse.' Musculus, who was at bitter strife with the professor Abdias Praetorius over the doctrines of good works and the Lord's Supper, was once stoned by the pupils, who took part with his opponent, and twice his house was stormed.[1] 'The youngsters have been made so rowdy,' he wrote, 'that professors and burghers are not sure of their lives among them, and would much rather dwell in the Böhmerwald. The young people are educated in all sorts of scandal and sin; there is no discipline, morality, or respectability left.' His poor wife also, he said, 'trembled for her life among such godless fellows.' The town physician, although an opponent of Musculus, spoke as follows: 'The impudence of the students is monstrous; every day there is some fresh evidence of it. Windows are smashed in, young girls are insulted in church, incalculable evil is perpetrated; three servants have been violently assaulted in the street, a burgher has had three great

[1] See our remarks, vol. vii. pp. 294–299, 301 f. ** Paul Creusing, preacher at Belitz, near Berlin, writes in his chronicle of Frankfort, concluded in 1572: 'This academy has held many excellent learned people in its day; but at the present time it has fallen into such a grievous condition that it has become the fashion to say that one can scarcely procure a good sexton at Frankfort, much less a good pastor.' 'Creusing's 'Märkische-Fürsten-Chronik,' published by Fr. Holtze in the *Schriften des Vereins für die Gesch. Berlins*, 23 Heft, Berlin, 1886, p. 159.

holes punched in his head. If the gentlemen at the university allow all this to go on unpunished, we may expect a rising of the burghers.' Such bloody frays went on constantly between the students and the burghers, that at last the latter actually set up cannons in their defence.[1] In the families of the professors also 'very irregular things' went on. The daughter of the professor and superintendent-general Körner lived as a prostitute, and his son, a magister of the university, was beheaded, in 1594, by order of the Elector John George, of Brandenburg, for having beaten his seventy-six-year-old father, trodden murderously on his throat, and dragged him round by the hair, and also for having committed incest with his own daughter, a child of ten years old.[2] The professor of law, Christopher von der Strassen, privy councillor of the Elector Joachim II, defended at Frankfort a principle which was bound to lead the students to the greatest excesses.[3] When Alesius, professor of theology, wrote a Latin dissertation against this dictum in order to discuss the matter publicly, the Elector, at the request of his favourite, forbade the disputation to take place, and administered a reproof to Alesius, whereupon the latter turned his back on the town.[4]

At the university of Rostock, Adam Tratziger, professor of jurisprudence, later on member of the

[1] Cf. Moehsen, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Wissenschaften*, pp. 393–394; Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 265; Spieker, *Musculus*, pp. 115, 339, note 2. ** See also Bruno Gebhardt, 'Deutsches Studentleben im 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert,' in the *Zeitschr. für allgem. Gesch.* iv. 949 ff.

[2] Moehsen, p. 543. Spieker, *Beschreibung der Marienkirche zu Frankfort an der Oder*, p. 476.

[3] The sentence ran: 'Accessus ad publicas meretrices est licitus et de jure impunibilis.'

[4] Strobel, *Neue Beiträge*, ii[b]. 355; Spieker, *Musculus*, p. 13.

theological faculty, appointed rector in 1547, stood for the same principle.[1] The Rostock professor Nathan Chyträus spoke as follows, in 1578, on the conditions prevalent at the university: 'A chief cause of the general depravity of the students is undoubtedly the decline of home training. But a large share of blame lies also with the teachers, for their indolence, neglect, and mere eye-service. How zealous and diligent on the contrary were our ancestors in their solicitude for the welfare of the academy! We cannot but be moved to admiration when we see from the ancient laws and regulations how those men of uprightness and loyalty with one consent set aside their own interests, all petty private considerations, and their own glory, for the sake of the public good. But they were not of the opinion generally prevalent nowadays, that rulers and teachers had fulfilled their duty when they had given the young laws and regulations for their conduct; they also made laws and statutes for themselves, and strove earnestly to keep within the bounds of these laws, and only then did they require the same course of the students.' 'Now, however, that we have slipt the yoke of ancient laws and statutes from off our own necks, and that, like the Israelites after Joshua's death, we do "each what seemeth good in his own eyes," it is no wonder that we find among the larger part of our young people such unbridled licentiousness, such boorish ignorance, such ungovernable insolence, such terrible godlessness; it is no wonder that they throw off all care for the fulfilment of duty as something unnecessary for them, that they treat all legislative

[1] 'Quod simplex scortatio non sit peccatum.' Cf. Grape, pp. 377, 529. Krabbe, p. 467, note 2.

injunctions and all authority with haughty contempt, and give the reins to all their mad, scandalous lusts.'[1]

Long before Chytraeus, the Westphalian, Arnold Büren, who, as *regens* of the 'Collegium Aquilae,' strove earnestly to restore stricter discipline, had said (1556), comparing the age before the religious innovations with the later period, 'All right-minded persons complain with one accord—and their complaint is fully borne out by the ways and habits of the people in question—that a general deterioration of the race has set in, that vices of all sorts are developing from day to day, that in place of the former moral earnestness and youthful bashfulness there is nothing but impudent frivolity and unbridled dissoluteness.'[2] 'The cyclopean savageness' of the students was for ever calling forth anew the censure of the authorities.[3]

In a ducal inspection 'recess' of 1578, it says, for instance: 'The council and the burghers complain most bitterly that the scholars are guilty of all sorts of violence and insolence in the streets at night-time; they fire guns from bedrooms, and attack people, even honourable matrons, with bare blades and imperil their lives.'[4] In 1595, Professor Hoecker preached a sermon, 'Über das allgemeine Laster der Trunkenheit, das teuflische Zutrinken, die epikurischen Nachtgesöffe und das sodomitische Leben, welches aus dem Saufen

[1] Döllinger, i. 515–517.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 514–515.

[3] Cf. *Etwas von Rostocker gelehrten Sachen*, i. 422–423, 364–365, 552. In 1558 John Bocerus wrote to Duke John Albert of Mecklenburg about the university: 'Forma gubernationis et disciplinae fere nulla est—nulla studiorum aut morum disciplina et gubernatio laudabilis existere potest—privilegia et immunitates fere omnes academiae ereptae sunt.' In Schirrmacher, ii. 50–51.

[4] Dähnert, ii. 837.

folgt.'[1] When Nathan Chytraeus, in 1581, reported to Duke Ulrich, of Württemberg, on the progress of 'some of the students,' the Duke expressed his pleasure that 'They were not equally lazy and insubordinate at this academy, and that the money expended on the college had not been altogether thrown away.'[2] In the year 1600 Professor Cothmann made a request to the students that they would attend at least one lecture a week.[3]

But, however much there was to complain of at Rostock, the famous philologist John Caselius, who migrated thence in 1590 to Helmstädt, found that 'there the habits of the students were far worse than he had himself observed them to be in Mecklenburg.'[4] Duke Julius of Brunswick had founded the university at Helmstädt in 1575, and had endowed it with the revenues of the Gandersheim Abbey. He had designed it for the special object of training up efficient and high-principled theologians; for, said Duke Julius, he had found that the students of theology who came out of other academies 'had become more practised in empty squabbling than stocked with sound learning.' Nevertheless, ten years had not elapsed before it was stated at the consistorium, in the presence of the Duke, that 'at the new university great disorderliness has set in; that immorality, bloodshed, and murder are the order of the day.' It was considered necessary to hold an inspection, and also to forbid every student under twenty years of age to carry arms.[5] The inspection

[1] *Etwas von Rostocker gelehrten Sachen*, i. 560.
[2] Krey, *Beiträge zur Mecklenburgischen Kirchengesch.* i. 314.
[3] *Etwas von Rostocker gelehrten Sachen*, vi. 238.
[4] Henke, *Calixtus*, i. 103–104.
[5] Schlegel, *Kirchen- u. Reformationsgesch. von Norddeutschland*, ii. 305.

produced no results. In 1588 followed a stormy rising of the 'Convictorists'; whole gangs rushed upon the administrator, and when the rector sent some of them to prison, the rest collected together with sticks, swords, and spears, broke open the doors and windows of the administrator, destroyed all the furniture in it, threw it out in the street, and freed the captives from imprisonment.[1] In 1602 it was notified to the consistorium that there were 'more soldiers than students in the "Convicts."'[2]

The university of Marburg, called into existence in 1527 by the Landgrave Philip, was intended to be a nursery ground and centre of Protestantism for the landgraviate of Hesse and the neighbouring counties—a 'veritable training school of Christian morality.' But in a very short time the rector Eobanus Hessus had to report concerning 'the insolence and ungovernableness of the students.'[3] He himself was so passionately addicted to drink that he was—as he was fully aware—the cause of his own death. 'I go on living,' he wrote, in 1540, shortly before his end, 'in the accustomed way, and even if by this habit of mine I bring on complaints in my advancing years, such as violent gout and coughing, from which I am still suffering, I cannot, nevertheless, give it up.'[4] As little could most of the other professors serve as examples to the students. 'The moral customs which prevail at Marburg,' wrote the Zurich theologian Rudolf Walther to his tutor Bullinger, in 1540, 'are of the kind which Bacchus and Venus prescribed to their votaries. Drinking oneself full and then vomiting, rampaging

[1] Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 214–215.
[2] Schlegel, ii. 366.
[3] Krause, *Eobanus Hessus*, ii. 230.
[4] Döllinger, i. 221.

publicly about the streets, are things nobody is ashamed of; on the contrary, such proceedings call forth praise, and serve for laughter and merriment. When you see a student you are in doubt if he is a soldier or a son of the Muses. Why, however, should the pupils not behave in this manner, seeing that the greater number of the professors act likewise?'[1] 'Ach Gott,' wrote the Protestant theologian, Martin Bucer, on Christmas Day 1539 to the Landgrave, 'there will be bad goings on here and elsewhere, for it is known that your Grace has not acted personally in the matter with firmness. The people are growing depraved; immoral living is gaining the upper hand.'[2] 'The Marburg councillors themselves,' he complained to the Landgrave the following April, 'being most of them wine retailers and drunkards, encourage drunkenness, and the people lie about every day in the streets like cattle.'[3] Thus in this direction also there was no good example set to the students. Dangerous brawls between the latter and the burghers drove the Landgrave Philip, in 1557, to the enactment that: 'No one, whosoever he be, student or burgher, shall, under peril of decapitation, carry firearms under his clothes at night.'[4] The Landgrave William IV discouraged the Duke of Holstein from sending his son to Marburg, because the habits of the place, owing to the connexion between the Court household and the university, were not the most desirable.[5] The year-books of the college afford more

[1] Döllinger, p. 230.

[2] Lenz, i. 121–122.

[3] Hassencamp, *Hessische Kirchengesch. im Zeitalter der Reformation*, ii. 617–621.

[4] *Die Vorzeit, Taschenbuch*, 1826, p. 36.

[5] Rommel, *Neuere Gesch. von Hessen*, i. 220.

detailed proof of the licentiousness prevalent among the students.[1]

A youth pursuing his university studies, said John Winckelmann, professor of theology, in 1599, in his sermon at the funeral of a student who had been mortally wounded with a rapier by another student in a nocturnal fray, 'must not drink, gorge, commit fornication and villany, indulge in scandalous, frivolous, rascally talk, scream and yell in the streets at night, rampage about with a naked sword, storm windows, molest and disturb other people. This is a sort of fun and amusement from which the very opposite of amusement results: anger, quarrelling, hatred, fighting, bloodshed, murder, imprisonment, flight, illness.'[2] In the autumn of 1610, the university rector expressed his delight that, 'in spite of sundry and dangerous risings and bitterest factions, this year of study had gone by without murder or bloodshed'; but at the end of December the captain of the patrol guard was cruelly done to death by a pack of students; soon afterwards the year-books had to record dangerous 'Catilinarian movements and tumults.'[3] A letter of

[1] Cf. the passages quoted in proof of this from the annals of 1598–1601 in Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 274–275.

[2] *Eine christliche Leichpredigt aus dem* 12. *Kap. des Predigers Salomons* (Marburg, 1599), pp. 14, 25.

[3] 'Catalogi studiorum scholae Marpurgensis cum annalibus brevibus conjuncti, particula undecima et duodecima,' of the celebrations of the imperial birthday, 1883 and 1884. As at Marburg so too at the university of Giessen, opened in 1607, there reigned from the first, according to the college documents, unrestrained licentiousness. The students who by the charters of the college had licence for 'higher' and 'lower' chase within the town boundaries, fell like locusts on the neighbouring gardens and woods, and were compared by the rector to wild beasts. In 1617 the rowdiness had reached such a pitch that not only did one student stab another in the open street, but a body of them kept the pavement against

the Landgrave Moritz, of the year 1615, is noteworthy as regards the professors of that period, and their attitude towards the reigning prince. The Landgrave had proposed his somewhat drunken private secretary to the university as a professor, but the proposal was declined; whereupon he wrote back in his own handwriting: 'If, perchance, you should mean unnecessary drink, we cannot but fear that there are many brothers at Marburg who, with him, will have to undergo your, to us almost incredible, *repulsam* from the door, for, we regret to say, it is too well known to us that in almost all the faculties there are good drinkers and boon-companions.' [1]

Also at the university of Heidelberg, which, according to a report of Rudolf Walther, of Zurich, 'was esteemed before others,' [2] there was no less cause for complaint than elsewhere of the 'ungovernableness of the students,' especially since the second half of the sixteenth century.[3] On Good Friday 1550, sixteen students, equipped with arms and heavy cudgels, burst into the church, scattered the clergy to the rightabouts, broke up the images and chairs, knocked the hands, feet and nose off a statue of St. Leonard, placed it in

the captain of Giessen, Hans Wolf von Schrautenbach, and he, frightened by their armed force, was obliged to give in. Rommel, *Neuere Gesch. von Hessen*, ii. 148. At the college of Herborn, founded in 1584, there was such an alarming rising among the students in 1586, that the Counts John and George of Nassau were obliged to come up in haste with an armed force in order to restore tranquillity; cf. *Zeitschr. für histor. Theologie*, xi. 4, 106.

[1] Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 40.

[2] See above, p. 282.

[3] Even in the fifteenth century, in the faculty of arts, there had been no lack of rowdiness and licentiousness. Wimpheling complained bitterly on this score in 1499. Cf. Thorbecke, pp. 59–60, 62, 90. G. Knod's *Mitteilungen in der Zeitschr. für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, xl. 322.

the market in front of a tavern, and stuck on it a label with the words: 'Dear host, see how I have been damaged; give me shelter.' Then with tumultuous uproar they stormed into the Franciscan convent, in order 'to take the Lord God out of the grave for the monks.'[1] In 1552 a member of the Electoral court-marshal's family was attacked by students with naked swords, and the Electress, who was on her way to the abbey Neuburg with her husband Frederick II, was rudely mocked and insulted.[2] Concerning the Bursas for poor students,[3] it was said, in the years 1559 and 1561: 'All discipline appears to be at an end; the students are refractory and insolent in the extreme; some of them left the institute without leave and spent a whole month going the round of wineshops and ale-houses.'[4] The theologian, Ursinus, president of the *Sapienzcolleg*, wrote to his friend Bullinger in 1568: 'The disastrous want of discipline has attacked the universities like an incurable cancer'; to his deep sorrow he had heard that the students from Switzerland, who had sojourned at Heidelberg, had gone back home more corrupt than when they went to the university.[5] Nine years later he said: 'I can no longer stay among these unmannerly, strangely brought-up youngsters.'[6] That the state of things at the college

[1] Report of the Protestant, Thomas Trage, in the *Zeitschr. des Histor. Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, xii. 51. What sort of 'enormities' had to be combated in the 'Realistenburse' may be seen from the statutes (1546) in Winkelmann, i. 226–228.

[2] Hautz, i. 472.

[3] Contubernium Pauperum or Dionysianum.

[4] Hautz, i. 200, note 69, and p. 201, note 71.

[5] Sudhoff, *Olevianus und Ursinus*, Elberfeld, 1857, p. 340, note; Hautz, ii. 99, note 11.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 99, note 11.

did not improve in later times appears clearly evident from numerous events and ordinances.[1]

From Heidelberg, in 1590, the Italian Scipio Gentilis was called, as professor of jurisprudence, to the university at Nuremberg, which had been founded in 1578, and endowed with imperial privileges. His life serves to show how greatly this institute suffered, even in the first decades of its existence, from all the evils which had become customary at the other colleges. Gentilis was inordinately addicted to drink, and under its influence he often rampaged round the town with the students after midnight, blustering, swearing, and screaming all the time. Once he thrust his dagger in the face of a burgher. When he was tipsy he knocked down everything that came in his way. In the tap-room at Nuremberg he behaved so disgustingly that the host and hostess said again and again they had never had a more obscene guest. In spite of all this, Gentilis was appointed rector in 1597, and pro-rector in the following year. When these academic positions obliged him to take proceedings against the students he begged them not to resent it against him, for he was only acting under pressure of superior officers. Among the wildest of the students, Baron Albert von Waldstein, who later on as imperial

[1] Cf. Winkelmann, ii. 160 ff., Nos. 1350, 1352, 1354, 1359; Hautz, ii. 133, note 433–436; Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 219. A lock-up was built for the first time at Heidelberg in the middle of the sixteenth century, and from that time frequently used. 'The place was in a disgraceful condition.' One student who had to remain there for several months found his clothes rot on his body and his shoes on his feet on account of the damp; the university itself declared that 'owing to the noxious vapours no one could remain there long without contracting dangerous illnesses.' Hence the students preferred expulsion to incarceration. Thorbecke, *Anmerkungen*, p. 52*.

generalissimus ruled the destiny of Germany, had been prominent since 1599. Only a few months after his arrival at the college, in December 1599, he had stood at the head of a gang of youngsters, who collected in front of the house of the professor of theology, James Schopper, raging and storming, smashed in the windows, and carried off doors and chests. By command of the Nuremberg council, the senate of the academy, in spite of Professor Gentilis' noisy protestations, ordered Waldstein and three other students who had taken a leading part in the riot to be given into custody. Speedily released, however, in the very same month, Waldstein again qualified himself for complaints. On the murder of the son of a burgher by the student Hans Hartmann, of Steinau, he had participated in the fray. In order to bring the committee of the academy (who thought this event not worth investigation) to a proper sense of the dignity of the college, it was necessary for the Nuremberg council to administer a sharp reprimand to them. When the warden of the university wanted to institute a search for the murderer in the lodgings of the students, he met with violent opposition. The whole burgher force had to be called to arms. The Nuremberg council organised a special deputation to restore tranquillity, and sent with it an armed force. Waldstein was seized and taken before the magistrates. He was charged with 'all kinds of insolence and manifold turbulence,' and 'with having incurred the heaviest penalties'; he had insulted and injured the watchmen, stabbed a student in the foot, treated his servant so inhumanly that the man had had to be sent to Nuremberg and placed under medical care; complaints were also brought forward of his own

and his associates' 'unheard-of godlessness, for they had not even shrunk from lavishing their mockery and abuse on the Holy Trinity.' The punishment assigned was very mild. After a short confinement in his room, Waldstein, in January 1600, received permission to go where he liked. Soon after this he left the university.[1] 'When the schools were still under papal government,' says a report on the university drawn up towards the end of the sixteenth century, 'strict discipline was maintained, and everybody was more in awe of ecclesiastical control than of punishment from the magistrates. Then the young were kept far more easily in wholesome fear and discipline. Nowadays it is, alas! just the other way; no class is so little revered as the clergy, and under such a disordered state of things one may well wonder what sort of "liberties" are likely to be profitable to the college. Liberation from taxes and civic tolls is a laudable work in these distressful times, for even without these a poor student is hard put to it.' On the other hand, 'freedom from secular punishment for storming houses and youthful debauchery brings no profit.' 'Licence has so gained the upper hand among the students that scarcely anyone is safe in his own house; these youngsters have agreed together to carry on all sorts of enormities, to injure people without cause, and even to rob them of life.' [2]

The university of Tübingen was also in the worst repute: 'The most iniquitous carousing was in fullest

[1] From J. Baader, *Wallenstein als Student an der Universität Altdorf*, Nuremberg, 1860; K. Patsch, *Albrecht von Waldsteins Studentenjahre*, Prague, 1889; cf. Will, *Universität Altdorf*, pp. 39, 73 (concerning Professor Schopper), and *Historisch-diplomatisches Magazin*, i. 223–225.

[2] Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 37–38.

swing there.'[1] In 1539, the professors with the officials, clerical and secular, organised a festivity at the council-house in Holy Week, when there was to be 'meat-eating, drinking, dancing,' &c.: observation of the fasts was forbidden. James Andreä, provost at Tübingen, and chancellor of the university, complained vehemently in the years 1568 and 1569 of the prevailing 'demoralised, epicurean, bestial life of gluttony and drunkenness'; drunkenness, he said, was no longer considered disgraceful either among the upper or lower classes; 'those who ought to put a stop to it by good example or by rigorous punishment are the most strongly addicted to it.' Coupled with insobriety was 'the frightful sin of blasphemy.' 'In the days of our forefathers such oaths as are common nowadays were never heard, and if anyone did fall into this sin, although not so flagrantly as happens frequently now, he would have been put under arrest and criminally charged.'[2]

That Andreä's description of the prevalent vices was not overdrawn, Duke Christopher learnt from personal experience. He had been accustomed to regard this university as 'the centre of pure doctrine,' 'the nurse and mother of Christian chastity.' All the teachers, to whatever faculty they belonged, were obliged 'to conform to the Württemberg and Augsburg Confessions'; neither persons nor books of 'repudiated sects' were to be tolerated.[3] Again and again Christopher had issued stringent enactments against the ruffianliness and licentiousness of the students, against

[1] Sattler, iii. Beilage 148. Schnurrer, *Erläuterungen*, p. 178; Horawitz, *Caspar Bruschius*, p. 31.

[2] See our remarks, vol. viii. pp. 400, 401.

[3] Hartmann, *Gesch. der Reformation in Württemberg*, p. 150.

nocturnal frays, against unsuitable dress, and carrying weapons.[1] But when, in 1565, he visited Tübingen, he wrote: 'It is a matter of great importance, and which must receive consideration, how the school senate is to be persuaded to see more carefully after the enforcement of their statutes and ordinances, and not allow such a dissolute state of things to be tolerated among the students. We find among other things that the abominable sin of blasphemy is so common among them and has reached such a pitch, that he who swears most profanely acquires distinction; it is the same with drinking and profligacy, as indeed we witnessed with our own eyes last August. Nocturnal street-tramping, with yelling, screaming, swearing, and brandishing rakes, winnowing vans, and large weapons is very common, and if all this goes on during our presence here, it goes on still worse in our absence. Moreover, this street-tramping is a very serious annoyance to many respectable women, servant-maids, and young ladies, who are assaulted very improperly by the students . . . and all these offences go unpunished by the rector and the senate.' [2]

The Duke informed the senate that he had expected that his verbally communicated orders to them, to put a stop to the misdemeanours of the students, especially the nocturnal riotings, would have been carefully carried out. 'We find, however, on the contrary—indeed, the fact was palpable to our own eyes when we were lately at Tübingen with the high-born princes, our dear cousins Duke Louis, the Palatine, and the Landgrave William of Hesse—that all night through

[1] Mohl, *Geschichtl. Nachweisungen*, Nos. 22, 33, 35, 59 and 60.

[2] Pfister, *Herzog Christoph*, ii. 149, 150.

there is such a noise of murder cries, raging, and blustering in the streets all over the town, that we ourselves could not get any quiet sleep in our castle, much less could we tell what might be going on in the way of incendiarism and murder in our town through the behaviour of such wanton, godless fellows.'[1] In the same year several of the burghers informed the rector that they were not safe against the students in their own houses, and they added 'that things would not mend till they had killed one of them.'

In 1577 the under-bailiff of Tübingen complained to the senate that the behaviour of the students at night was so disgraceful that no burghers would any longer take the watch, and it was to be feared that, unless this state of things was stopped in good time, disastrous evil would ensue. 'In short, they were a godless lot, as in Sodom and Gomorrha.' In 1583 the under-bailiff received from the Duke the injunction to visit the houses in which 'improper dances and drinking bouts' were held, in order that 'the growing vice of immorality might be rooted out; birds and nest must be carried off together.' Owing to the 'criminal actions and the insubordination of the students,' the Duke feared 'a general outbreak.' 'It must be acknowledged,' the senate reported to Stuttgart, in 1584, 'that the statutes are not lived up to; but the young are so corrupt that the statutes must of necessity be overlooked.' Cases of manslaughter happened repeatedly, and serious woundings not seldom. Once, when a student had 'stabbed another so badly that the victim's entrails hung down to the ground,' because the wounded youngster did not die the criminal was

[1] Mohl, No. 69.

merely locked up. Two students were put into the lock-up 'because they had meant to cut off each other's fingers, and then gamble for them'; two others because they had had a fight to death and had chased each other round the churchyard 'with naked swords and loud blasphemy.' Two students who had attacked a burgher with a dagger were fined each a florin. Once, three students marched through the streets with nothing on but their shirts. Two students were sent to the lock-up because they had knocked down and trampled on a pregnant woman. In 1585 the senate decreed that, 'whereas the students, especially those of the nobility, drank and gorged day and night, smashed in windows, yelled and screamed, the innkeepers must be punished by the bailiffs.' By the Nurembergers the senate was informed that they would gladly let their children study at Tübingen were it not for the immorality which prevailed at the university.

Even the sons of doctors and professors made themselves notorious by their bad conduct. On January 13, 1592, the rector made it known that overnight a student had been struck by a smith with an iron stave. Doctor Hamberger's son had been the first to begin; it was a common saying in the town that he was a magician, always ready to fly at people's throats. He was sentenced to imprisonment, and finally expelled from the town, 'because he attacked the people in the streets and fought with them.' The son of the professor Crusius was again and again sent to the lock-up, in 1591, by the senate, at the request of his own father. With regard to the son of Professor Cellius, it was decided, in September 1597, 'to arrest him and to make him pay for the cure of the tailor

whom he had wounded badly by striking.' In December 1600 this same fellow was publicly expelled for having seduced a girl, and stuck a knife in the throat of another student of whom he was jealous. Four years earlier there had been proceedings in the senate against a student 'who had pledged himself to the devil, on condition that the latter would supply him with some money.' To the questions 'how long had he been in the service of the devil, how often had he received money from him, what terms had he made with the devil, the student answered: It was the first time; he had not yet received any money from the devil; his debts had driven him to this step; he had only meant to remain two years bound to the devil, and if he had died during that time, he should have renounced him and told him that he had another keeper, Jesus.' He was sentenced to lengthy imprisonment, and had to prepare himself for receiving the Communion. As, however, the next month he stole three silver beakers and three spoons from taverns and sold them, it was decided to proceed criminally against him.[1]

Against the stipendiates of theology also, especially after the close of the Middle Ages, there were complaints as to their growing idleness, luxury, and immorality. Regardless of all orders and injunctions 'the collegiates flocked to the tavern of the Golden Eagle by day and by night.' The institute was in fact governed throughout by a spirit of insubordination. If punishments were decreed, protests followed, and the decrees were not carried out. In 1605 a regular outbreak occurred, and

[1] Mohl, Nos. 36, 74, 92, 96, 97, 105, 106, 115, 117–122, 125–127, 134, 138–140, 145–148, 151, 153, 157, 161, 168–170, 178, 183, 188, 190, 199, 205–206, 211, 216, 218–224, 234–236, 238, 242, 250, 253 and 277.

even the most turbulent students were let off. Immorality gained appalling ground in the university, and even invaded the families of professors of theology.[1]

The general conditions of university life were embodied in the following lines:

'Who Tübingen quits without a wife,
Or Jena with sound limbs and life,
Or Helmstädt without wounds or patches,
Or Jena without cracks and scratches,
From Marburg undisgraced comes back,
His studies still completeness lack.' [2]

The later renowned philologist and schoolman Hieronymus Wolf, who had studied at Tübingen, recounts as follows from his college memories: 'At Tübingen, also, they kept up the barbarous custom according to which the most senseless and turbulent swaggerer among the students was authorised to commit every offence he pleased, in words or in deeds, against

[1] Schnurrer, *Erläuterungen*, pp. 478–482. Klüpfel, *Geschichte der Universität Tübingen*, p. 102 ff. Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 145–147, 208. George Liebler, professor of physics, delivered at the university in 1576 an 'Oratio de causis corruptae juventutis' (Tubingae, 1576), in which he said (Bl. A 2): 'Cogitanti mihi saepenumero et in res nostrorum hominum intuenti quaerendum esse visum est cur in scholis publicis juventutem corrumpi vulgo dicatur et multi parentes spe sua quam de liberis conceperant frustrati afflictam et tristem exigant senectam. Ac ego quidem ut in multis aliis rebus ita hic quoque longissime a consuetis hominum opinionibus dissentire me ingenue fateor maximamque partem corruptae adolescentiae non praeceptoribus, ut omnes fere, sed ipsis parentibus ut nemo vel paucissimi tribuo.' He then describes more in detail the effects on boys of corrupt home education: '. . . Nostros sermones spurcos, nostras ineptias, nostras blasphemias audire coguntur, nostras crapulas et perpotationes vident atque ita misere haec discunt antequam sciant esse vitia. Inde soluti ac fluentes non accipiunt ex scholis mala ista, sed in scholas afferunt. . . .' Bl. A 3^{b}.

[2] Another version:

'Who Leipzig quits without a wife,
Or Wittenberg with healthy life,
Or Jena with unbroken head,
That man a lucky course has sped.'

new-comers. This liberal test of heads and hearts they called a deposition. It was only a very small minimum of those who prowled about the university who had even a mediocre stock of higher learning, and among those who in approved traditional fashion pummelled and ridiculed myself and other novices, the majority could scarcely speak two or three Latin words without gross grammatical mistakes.' [1]

The so-called 'deposition,' 'removal of horns,' was already customary at the medieval universities, though, as a rule, not in a degenerate form.[2] A student going to a German university was called a Beanus, yellow-beak, or a fox, and was regarded as 'a beast of the field who, as a fitting preparation for public lectures, must have his horns taken off.' [3] An ox-skin with horns was hung over his head, and a wild boar's tooth stuck in his mouth; the tooth was then knocked out amid all sorts of ceremonies, the horns were taken off, and then the Beanus, 'in order to cure him of coarse, boorish manners,' was belaboured in different parts of his body with comb, saw, hammer, and tongs, also 'soundly boxed on the ears.' After these ceremonies the Beanus went by the name of 'Pennal,' from 'Pennale,' pencase.

[1] H. Wolf's 'Jugendleben von F. Passow,' in Von Raumer's *Histor. Taschenbuch*, Jahrg. i. 375–376.

[2] ** Cf. W. Fabricius, 'Die akademische Deposition (*depositio cornuum*)' in *Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur- u. Kulturgeschichte, speziell zur Sittengeschichte der Universitäten*, Frankfurt, 1896; cf. also Fabricius in the *Zeitschr. für Bücherfreunde*, i. (1897–1898) 177 f., iii. (1899, 1900), 99 f. Concerning the so-called 'deposition' cf. also Zinck, *Studentisches Leben in Leipzig*, p. 194 f.

[3] The Bejanus (derived from *bejaune* = *bec-jaune* = yellow-beak) was described thus: Beanus Est Animal Nesciens Vitam Studiosorum. Von Raumer, iv. 4. ** Meinhardt in the above-mentioned pamphlet (p. 220, note 1) gives (Bl. Dr[a].) another definition of the Beanus: Beanus est Bestia Equalis Asino Nihil Vero Sciens.

This 'deposition' had originally a serious meaning, was recognised among academic rules, and even insisted on, and it took place in the presence and with the co-operation of the dean of the philosophical faculty. Thus, for instance, at Greifswald, in the fifteenth century, for the prevention of abuses it was prescribed that 'the deposition shall take place under the supervision of the masters in the colleges or "Regentien"' (=college under a Regent), 'and the Beanus shall not be required to pay more than one-third of a florin.'[1] Even at the beginning of the sixteenth century,[2] but more still in the course of it, the 'deposition' degenerated into all sorts of 'improper, barbarous behaviour, words, actions, and jokes,' 'lapsed into sensual and other coarse sorts of excitement.'[3] It became, as the council at Cologne said, 'a regular Bacchanalian performance,'

[1] Kosegarten, i. 84–85. The ceremonies accompanying the 'deposition' were derived essentially from the form of enrolment of artisans' apprentices, as in the admission to a tradesman's guild pinching and pulling were customary. The *Manuale Scholarium*, published by Zarncke, and greatly enlarged in the fifteenth century, gives with dramatic vividness and animated dialogue a clear representation of the ceremony of 'deposition.' Fuller details about it are given in Thorbecke, pp. 55–57. Cf. Hartfelder in the *Zeitschr. für allgemeine Gesch.* ii. 780–785.

[2] ** Proof that even before the outbreak of the Church schism the ceremony of 'deposition' had in many ways degenerated is given by Haussleitner in *Die Universität Wittenberg vor dem Eintritt Luthers* (Leipzig, 1903) on the basis of the pamphlet of Mag. Andreas Meinhardi, *Dialogus illustrate ac augustissime urbis Albiorene vulgo Vittenberg dicta, &c.* (Lipsiae, 1508), from which (p. 54 f.) extracts are quoted. Meinhardt describes the deposition in detail without, however, blaming the accompanying abuses. Haussleitner (p. 50) concludes from the fact that the Elector Otto Henry, in 1558, at Heidelberg found fault with the character of the ceremony, while Meinhardt did not do so, that 'the Reformation altogether raised the standard of opinion.' Why, then, was this ruffianism prevalent at so many Protestant universities?

[3] See for the university of Heidelberg the statements in Thorbecke, p. 57; Winkelmann, i. 322–323.

out of which nothing but evil, gluttony, and drinking, spending money, envy, hatred, and even bloodshed and murder, arose.[1]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, and especially at the Protestant universities, the 'deposition' grew into the so-called 'Pennalism,' which was a most scandalous perversion of the 'Pennäler,' and developed into the actual 'academic monster.'

After the abolition of the Bursas, the new-comers were placed under the supervision of older students, generally their own countrymen, who soon began to exercise an intolerable lordship over their charges. They were called 'Schorists,' because they cut the hair off the young students' heads, and in other ways bravely fleeced them.

Each new-comer, or 'fox,' was obliged to act the part of a *famulus* to his 'lord' or 'patron,' to wait on him at table, clean his boots and brush his clothes, and give up to him his own best clothes, while he himself was only allowed to appear in dirty, ragged clothes and slippers. In the lecture-halls, even in church, the 'foxes' had their special seats, and in the streets during the Church services they were treated to boxes

[1] Bianco, i[a]. *Anlagen*, pp. 244–245. Concerning the improprieties of the degenerate 'deposition' there is a vivid description in the second act of Albert Wichgrew's drama, *Cornelius relegatus*; cf. E. Schmidt, *Komödien vom Studentenleben aus dem* 16. *u.* 17. *Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 12–13, and our statements, vol. xii. pp. 150–155. A detailed account: 'Wie es mir Wilhelm Weber (bei der Deposition) zu Altdorf ergangen' in the *Weimar. Jahrbuch für deutsche Sprache, &c.*, vi. 328–340. Bartholomew Sastrowe (i. 188) says that when he went through his 'deposition' at Rostock the 'depositor' slit open his upper lip with a wooden razor. Hayn (*Bibl. Germanorum erotica*, p. 289) has on its list a volume printed in 1590 with the title *Kurtzweilige Fastnachtspredig, lustig zu gebrauchen bey dem Deponiren, Hoblen und Hänsseln*, a new edition of it by Th. G. von Karajan, Vienna, 1851.

on the ear, nose flicking, and kicks, and forced to partake of disgusting food and drink. At the drinking bouts and carousals in the town the most debasing services were expected of them. After the year's service was over the 'fox' was obliged to apply to all the students hailing from his own part of the country for 'absolution,' which was imparted to him in the name of the Holy Trinity at a big banquet organised by all the 'Pennälen.' The fox's hair was then singed; he became a Brand-fox, and entitled to treat his juniors as he had been treated himself. These ungodly excesses were a 'real conspiracy for evil,' which set aside all discipline and rendered futile all academic rules and statutes.[1]

All orders issued against 'freshmen-carousals' were fruitless. Even professors took part in them, and drew their profits out of them.[2] 'We find professors,' wrote Sigmund Evenius, 'who delight in attending the forbidden "freshmen-banquets," and who join with keen zest in "driving out the calf" (or civilising the new-comer), who help to encourage hard drinking at the feast, who give a half measure and take money for a whole, who incite to wine-bibbing and card-playing,

[1] Fuller details are given in Chr. Schöttgen, *Historie des ehedem auf Universitäten gebräuchlich gewesenen Pennal-Wesens*, Dresden and Leipzig, 1747, Von Raumer, iv. 47–54. Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 200–202, 280 ff. Henke (*Calixtus*, ii. 19, note 1) points out that 'Pennalism' was much less known at Catholic universities. 'Through the whole of the seventeenth, and partly still at the beginning of the eighteenth century,' says Meiners, iv. 54, 'the morals of the students were more corrupt at the Protestant than at the Catholic universities, because the abomination of "Pennalism" was more common at the former than at the latter.' In Wachsmuth (*Europ. Sittengesch.*) v. 297, we read: '"Pennalism" dragged the students down to bestiality; it was chiefly practised by theologians; the Catholic universities were free from this abuse.'

[2] See above, p. 277 f.

in order that they may get their fill of drink and other profits.' [1]

The way in which 'a regular Schorist' comported himself at the universities was described in fuller detail by Wolfgang Heider, professor at Jena, in 1607. 'This detestable sort of student,' he said, 'never prays to God, and when he is reproved by others for this remissness he calmly says: "The sows, although they never worship or invoke God, become, nevertheless,

[1] Evenius, pp. 95–109, where there is a full picture of the 'godlessness and recklessness of the students' and the 'monstrous system of freshmanism.' Concerning the freshman-carousals and the further evils of the freshman system, Landgrave William of Hesse said in 1610, in a decree issued for the university of Marburg: 'Quid vero ibi? Optimae quidem leges, sed omnium pessimi mores, quos, quae vitiorum fomes ac nutrix est, quemadmodum ex Agathensi concilio olim scriptum fuit, ebrietas et helluatio perenni quasi ubere alit atque fovet. Quid enim? incredibile auditu: novum compotationis genus a nonnullis Bacchi seu malis Baccharum filiis institutum esse comperimus, quod peculiari . . . verbo *Ein Pennall Schmauss* [a freshman-carousal] indigitare, eiusque sumptus et impendia indignissima ratione a novitiis, qui hanc Academiam primum ingrediuntur, praeter fas extorquere solent. Sed et praeterea alterum quendam contra bonos mores exortae helluationis modum cognovimus, quem *Dischrückung* [moving the tables] appellant. Facto enim tamquam in praelium impetu, gulae studiosi in musea et conclavia aliorum irruunt, vina adferri sibi poscunt, nolentibus libros et vestimenta auferunt, ablata aliis oppignorant, qua plus quam hostili vi atque injuria deterriti novitii quidam et boni adolescentes hinc discedere coacti sunt. Inaudita etiam in hostium castris barbaries': the most stringent punishments must be used for rooting out this barbarism. *Catalogi* (see above, p. 211, note 4), 1883, pp. 10–12. At Helmstädt Professor Luchtenius delivered a lecture at the close of his rectorate in 1611, in which he said: 'Invasit *pridem* Academiam nostram lues quaedam contagiosa, nescio unde orta [namely freshmanism]. . . . Dici non potest quanta morum corruptela invehatur, quamque omnis disciplina corruat, et amor litterarum plane refrigescat.' Von Raumer, iv. 48, note, and 54, note. The university of Rostock said in 1619, thirty years ago and more there had been good times for study, but freshmanism had invaded the college like a pestilence. '*Unde fit, ut* inter tot nomine studiosos vix pauci reipsa inveniantur, qui in vera litteratura aliquid laude dignum inficiant.' *Etwas von Rostocker gelehrten Sachen*, 1738, pp. 133–137.

very fat in their fattening stalls." The evil lusts which rule in these scoundrelly sensualists completely destroy all sentiments of honour, crush out all love of virtue, and all delight in study; they choke these feelings, indeed, in the germ. These youngsters care nothing for wisdom, nothing for culture, nothing for worthy human study, nothing for the welfare of the Church or of the State; they are wholly given up to buffoonery, idleness, drinking, profligacy, fighting, bloodshed, and murder.' 'If you go into their rooms unexpectedly, what sort of articles, I ask you, will you find there? First of all, scarcely any books, or only a very few, thrown carelessly about under the benches and in the corners, covered with dust, and almost devoured by moths or mice. If you look round about you will see hanging on the walls a supply of daggers, poniards, and firearms, which the owner does not scruple from time to time to fire off in his rooms, or among the shingle-roofed houses of the suburbs, or the barns stocked with corn. You will see coats of mail, or iron gauntlets, for these giants do not appear unarmed on the fighting arena; also waistcoats stuffed out with wool, hair, or whalebone, and well fastened up, so that if it comes to fighting the blows do not penetrate. You will see punch-bowls and a great quantity of glasses, awaiting the advent of new guests. You will see cards, draughts, dice, and many more appliances for squandering money and corrupting youth. The "Schorist" seldom or never attends the public college, he hears no lectures, in order that he may not be discovered in the lecture-halls like a dog in a bath. When all is quiet in the streets, and also indoors, and people have betaken themselves to rest, he sallies forth with

loud cracking of posts and doors, armed and accompanied by his comrades. And now you're in for a fine tragedy and comedy: if there are any whom he thinks enemies—God preserve them! What hangman and fool's play he enacts outside their houses! How he springs like a tiger at their doors! How he flings stones at their windows! He will pour out volleys of abuse, lies, and vilification at the most harmless individuals—folk with whom even the god Momus himself could find no fault—and will insult them in such a manner that, although it's all a string of falsehoods, something, nevertheless, always sticks, and makes the victims feel uneasy. If other students or peace-loving burghers come in his path, he falls on them like a murderer or a street robber with naked sword, and amid a torrent of oaths, beats, wounds, knocks them down, and tramples on them, strangles them, and behaves every whit like a demon that has been let loose from hell in human form.'

'Then,' says Heider, in conclusion, 'after he has idled about at the academy, rollicking and misbehaving, he is called back home, much to his annoyance—unless he has already, as generally happens, on account of his heroic virtue, been cut off as a pestilential limb from the society of the rest of the students, and expelled from the university. He goes away almost always pale, haggard, thin, half-blind, limping, toothless, and covered all over with scars and plaisters.' [1]

Among the students at Jena at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the 'Gesang der Schlemmer-

[1] Von Raumer, iv. 331–334; cf. Keil, pp. 66–68.

zunft' ('Song of the Guild of Drunkards') was immensely popular:

Let's drink and swill till the morrow!
Let's joyful be without sorrow!
No duns to call till to-morrow!
Let's put creditors off till to-morrow!
We have but a short span here on earth,
Therefore it must be full of mirth.
Once dead we lie stark still, without moving,
All's over with pleasure, all's over with loving.
We've never yet heard a single one tell
Who back has come from the gates of hell,
And described what goes on within,
That keeping good company is a sin.
So drink thy fill, lie down, and then
Get up and drink thy fill again![1]

The Protestant theologian Polycarp Leiser wrote, in 1600, 'The manner of life, licentious beyond description, of university students nowadays, is, alas! patent proof of the general and growing decay of moral discipline. The corruption of morals is so great everywhere nowadays, that a terrible and universal upheaval seems imminent.'[2]

At any rate there was good ground for the complaint which became almost universal in Germany after the beginning of the religious disturbances, that under the conditions which prevailed at most of the universities learning and study could not flourish.

[1] Keil, pp. 54–55.

[2] Döllinger, ii. 565. In the middle of the atrocities of the Thirty Years' War, J. P. Lottichius, professor of medicine at the academy of Rinteln, said he remembered that many years ago one of the greatest jurists of Germany had repeatedly predicted, 'impossibile esse, ut post tot insolentias, pugnas digladiationesque studiosorum adolescentum . . . fatale atque extremum aliquod Germaniae nostrae, imprimis rebus academicis, bellum non portendatur. . . .' Meiners, i. 247.

PART II

CULTURE AND LEARNING—BOOK CENSORSHIP AND THE BOOK TRADE

CHAPTER I

HUMANISTIC STUDIES—PHILOLOGY—LATIN POETRY

If so many of the humanists in the twenties of the sixteenth century turned with enthusiasm to Luther and the new teaching, this was not so much from pure zeal for religion and theology, as in the hope that secular, and above all classical studies, set free from the strict supervision of the Church and from burdensome subjection to speculative theology, would receive a freer and more fruitful impulse. They overlooked the fact that it was just in this very department that it was undesirable to separate themselves from Rome and Italy, where the culture of Latin and Greek had struck such vigorous roots, and had been supported in the most liberal manner by popes, cardinals, and bishops. They further overlooked the fact that a readjustment of communal life, which would shake all classes of society to their foundation, could not possibly be favourable to quiet, peaceful, intellectual work. Their idea was to put themselves in connexion with antique culture, independently of intervening historical tradition, and, passing over Catholic Italy in defiance of the

so-called Antichrist, to bring this culture to life again in Germany, simultaneously with the new evangel. Thus an endeavour, in many respects noble and elevated, though one-sided, became mixed up with the errors which had proceeded from the revolutionary movements of the epoch.

The most important representative of the humanism which had separated itself from the old Church, but had been schooled under its too many-sided culture, was Philip Melanchthon, Luther's right hand, both in the official organisation of the new scheme of faith and in the construction of a new system of education.[1]

Like Luther,[2] Melanchthon started with very high aims. In an address delivered at Wittenberg, in 1518, on the question how to improve the studies of the youngsters, 'Wie die Studien der Jünglinge zu verbessern seien,' he urgently enjoined on the youths the study of Greek (which, he said, should be combined with Latin), in order that they might get at the substance and core of every ancient author, whether philosopher, theologian, historian, orator, or poet, and not merely embrace their shadows. 'Have the courage to be thorough!' he said; 'grind away at Latin, ground yourselves in Greek, without which Latin cannot really be mastered; without a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew nobody should venture to approach theological studies; the study of history is also indispensable.'[3]

Nevertheless this sensitive, subtle-minded linguist and schoolman was soon to experience a bitter disillusionment. As Luther's fellow combatant in theo-

[1] See above, p. 58. [2] *Corp. Reform.* xi. 15–25.
[3] See above, p. 61.

logical battles, Melanchthon was a man of great significance for the whole of Germany, and a man greatly honoured by his religious associates; but as the preserver and promoter of higher intellectual culture he found himself in a position which excites commiseration.

For his lectures on Demosthenes, Homer, and Sophocles, although he renounced all remuneration, he could scarcely get any audiences. 'By the beauties of the Second Olynthian speech,' he said in 1531, 'I hoped to win over my hearers to Demosthenes. But this age is deaf to such writers. Scarcely any of the audience stayed on through my lecture, and those who did, stayed not for the sake of the Greek, but for my sake.' Respecting his lectures on Homer, he said in 1531: 'A beggar Homer is said to have been in his lifetime, and a beggar he is still to-day—that is to say, for listeners: so great is the contempt for that which is best.' 'To-morrow,' he announced in 1534, 'I begin the explanation of the "Antigone" of Sophocles; I will not add any exhortation, for to these barbarian spirits to do so would be useless.' At the beginning of a speech on the study of the Greek language he said, in 1549: 'In these anarchical times, study, like the schools, lies prostrate, and Satan is threatening Church and schools alike with destruction.' He used similar terms in 1557 on the study 'of ancient philosophy': 'If I thought the threatened downfall of learning was being brought about by our fault, and not, as it is, by the fate of the world lying now at its last gasp, then, foreseeing the imminent invasion of barbarism, I should lament and despair over our own shortcomings.'[1] He envied the teacher, Philip Eber-

[1] Cf. Paulsen, pp. 138, 258–259, where are the passages referred to.

bach, at Coburg, his happy, peaceful lot. 'Ah! if only I were also at such a school, far from the contentions of our useless babblers! For in this place, even by our friends, I am treated most unworthily. I cannot bring myself to write about it.'[1] 'You know,' he wrote at the same time, in November 1526, to Camerarius, 'how I am chained here almost with the fetters of Vulcan; for slaves there is no leisure. Nothing is to my liking here, except our morsel of literature.'[2] In 1535 he even addressed a petition on behalf of literature to Henry VIII of England, because, as he said in excuse, 'In Germany learning has become an object of contempt because of the unjust judgments of men, and of hatred because of the religious controversies: therefore it is incumbent on your sapience to give all the more generous support and stimulus to literature, and to extend hospitable welcome to the banished Muses. We know well how, in former times, the fine arts, which had been almost extinguished by the incursions of the Goths, were saved by your island and diffused all over the earth.'

'You yourself are aware,' Melanchthon wrote to Brenz on October 17, 1536, 'that learned studies have been quite neglected in South Germany.'[3] Three years later he expressed his deep sorrow at seeing 'how the schools were neglected, how they received no encouragement, and how poor students were left unsupported.'[4] 'The schools in Germany are deserted,'

[1] 'Utinam ego in simili essem ludo procul a contentionibus τῶν ματαιολόγων remotus. Hic [at Wittenberg] enim, et quidem a nostris amicis, indignissime tractor. Non libet, ea de re scribere.' *Corp. Reform.* i. 830.

[2] 'Tu scis, ut hic [Wittenberg] haeream, vinculis propemodum Vulcaniis alligatus, οὐ γὰρ σχολὴ δούλοις . . . Nihil hic me praeter nostras literulas delectat.' *Ibid.* i. 831.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 170.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 803.

he complained to his friend Arnold Burenius in 1542, 'for study lacks the prospect of reward; among the people learning is universally hated, and even the princes, who ought to protect the "jewels of the State," are filled with contempt and hatred for study.'[1] From year to year he became more bitter and more hopeless in his language. 'If that golden epoch,' he wrote towards the end of 1541, on the publication of his works, 'for which we once dared to hope on account of the flourishing condition of learning, if that epoch were to appear, my writings would be more cheerful and bright; but the fatal schism which has overtaken us has also scared away my studies.'[2]

A similar disillusionment also overtook Erasmus. In 1516, before the outbreak of the religious revolution, he sang a jubilee over 'the golden age that was at the door'; good morals and piety, learning and the fine arts would develop more and more gloriously. Twelve years later he wrote to a friend on the death of James Wimpheling, that he did not know whether to lament the dead man, or to rejoice for him that he had been saved from witnessing an age which had grown corrupt beyond all description. 'Wherever Lutheranism reigns,' he said, 'there learning and science go to the ground. The people only want two things: a lucrative post and a wife; the evangel then gives them freedom to live according to their lusts.'[3]

[1] *Corp. Reform.* p. 756; cf. (v. 565) the letter of January 1 to J. Lang.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 716.

[3] *Erasmi Opp.* iii. 186, and iv. 1139, 1141. 'Erasmus, in the last twelve years of his life, expressed himself freely concerning the deleterious influence exercised by the new religion on education, literature, and science. Luther himself seemed to him to have a principal share in this decline. "If, as does Luther," he said, "we are to regard the whole Aristotelian

'We had hoped,' said Euricius Cordus, 'that sophistry and barbarism were the very things which the new theologians would root out, when, lo! contrary to all our expectations, they fall as with a vineyard hoe on the fine arts, so much so that we have slight hope that the latter will ever blossom anew.' [1]

philosophy—*i.e.* philosophy in general, for philosophy in its historic development rests on the basis of Aristotle—as a work of Satan; if further, like Luther, we are to declare all speculative knowledge to be sin and error; if like the reformer Farel we are to treat all human discipline, openly and on all occasions, as an invention of the devil, what other result can there be than general depreciation and contempt of study, and an ever-growing thirst and craving for gain and sensual enjoyment, such as we see nowadays? At Strassburg and elsewhere it has been openly taught that neither the study of languages nor any other studies, except Hebrew, are any longer to be pursued." Erasmus further depicts in his letters the condition of Protestantised Germany, overflowing with adventurers, apostate monks, starving married clergy; nothing now went on in Germany, he says, but dancing, eating, drinking and love-making; nothing was taught and nothing learnt; wherever these men come, piety and all serious study cease.' Döllinger, i. 470–472.

[1] *Euricii Cordi medici Botanologium*, Coloniae, 1534, p. 42. Compare what Eobanus Hessus wrote in 1532 (Döllinger, i. 218). ** Very noteworthy is the manner in which J. Jonas spoke in opposition to the princes, on May 10, 1538, concerning the decline of study and learning. Jonas says among other things: 'Multa gymnasia ante paucos annos in Germania fuerunt, tunc cum religionis doctrina prorsus sepulta jaceret, non frigida nec infrequentia, et infinita coenobia scholis non dissimilia: jam in medio cursu evangelii, quasi nunc (ostensa vera ratione docendi et discendi sacra) scelus et flagitium sit, aliquem numerum esse discentium, tot scholae locis commodissimis sitae repente extinctae sunt. Ut, de aliis taceam, Erphordiae, in illa tot eruditorum altrice (ubi olim antiquissima sedes fuit studiorum), vix tenuia vestigia videre licet et miserabiles ruinas, reliquias ex hoc horrendo excidio, quo ibi dilacerata et eversa jacet respublica literarum. . . . Quid nos aliud jam, cum reliquias illas et vestigia scholarum in Misnia, in Duringia, deinde desertas academias ad Danubium, ad Rhenum intuemur, quam cadavera tristia gymnasiorum, quae florere, vivere et spirare desierunt, cum dolore ac gemitu aspicimus?' He fears the invasion of a new era of barbarism. Kawerau, *Briefwechsel des J. Jonas*, i. 284 f. On his promotion to a doctorate at Cambridge (1550) said M. Bucer: 'Itaque academiae brevi omnino desolantur et evertuntur; id quod permultis in Germania academiis accidisse hodie cernitur.' M. Bucer, *Scripta anglicana*, Basileae, 1577, p. 186.

'The golden and the best ages are past,' wrote Luther's intimate friend, Spalatin, two years before his death († 1545); 'the worst has followed. I hope the end is not far off.' [1]

That German humanism was nipped in its first blossoming by the religious revolution, that its old age follows immediately on its youth, and does not first begin after the middle of the sixteenth century,[2] is proved not only by the complaints of a Melanchthon and an Erasmus, but by innumerable other witnesses who stretch back far beyond their time.[3]

When the Landgrave Philip of Hesse founded the university of Marburg in 1527, he said in his charter of privileges and liberties: 'University study and university professors, in these strange times, have fallen into such a degree of contempt among unintelligent laymen, that the latter would rejoice if all learning, books, and scholars were wholly rooted out.' If help and counsel are not speedily forthcoming, it is to be feared that learning will decline more and more from day to day, till at length it falls into irremediable decay. It was for this reason that he had erected the present university for the furtherance of learning and science among the young.' [4]

'I am almost ashamed of these times,' wrote the

[1] Kampschulte, ii. 276.

[2] As Bursian (p. 219) assumes.

[3] Up to the year 1521 there was general enthusiasm for classical studies. 'With the year 1521 there swept as it were an icy breath over this warm fervour of heart and mind. There was a general going over from the camp of Erasmus to that of Luther, and even those who remained behind were soon disturbed in the worship of what had hitherto been their ideal by the tumult of a revolutionary era and the strife and dissension of theologians. More and more disastrous was the effect as regards classical study.' Krause, *Eobanus Hesse*, ii. 267–268.

[4] Rommel, *Philip der Grossmüthige, Landgraf von Hessen*, iii. 347–349

Strassburg professor, Gerbel, in 1525; 'all study is at a standstill, almost everything is full of rancour and strife.' 'In no books of history,' he said in a later letter, 'can I find that learning was ever the victim of such obstacles as to-day.' [1] 'Germany is no longer what it was,' said the philologist Metzler in 1530, 'everything is changed; learning no longer meets with any recognition.' [2] George Wizel's opinion, expressed in 1533, was no different: 'Learning is no longer honoured, but good living, riches, superfluity, are wonderfully venerated. The schools stand empty; the people all flock in crowds to service at court, to merchandise, to alchemy, and to the mines. Hence, in a few years it will be scarcely possible, except with rare exceptions, to find teachers and pupils for the fine arts.' [3]

The humanist Caspar Bruschius also spoke his mind to the same effect in 1542. 'Never before,' he said, 'had study been treated so slightingly and contemptuously by both high and low as in these days, which without doubt were the last days. It had come to this, that in numbers of large towns there were found to be scarcely two or three boys who had persevered so far as to have accomplished any results in study.' [4]

John Sturm of Strassburg, after long experience, poured out his distress in 1544 in a letter to Camerarius over the general neglect and contempt of study. The scarcity of scholars, he said, was great, and threatened to become greater; but nobody cared that learning, together with religion, was inevitably going to ruin, for

[1] Döllinger, ii. 55. ** Concerning Nich. Gerbel see Varrentrappe, *Studie in der Festschrift zur* 46. *Philologer-versammlung*, Strassburg, 1901.

[2] Kampschulte, ii. 264.

[3] Döllinger, i. 113.

[4] Horawitz, *Caspar Bruschius*, p. 56; cf. pp. 70, 203.

there was no longer any love for either, no zeal whatever; to amass fortunes, and not give away any part, was considered the sole duty of man.[1]

Camerarius himself, in his private letters, could scarcely find words to describe the growing contempt for the humanistic studies, which in his youth, when the old Church still held rule, were so zealously pursued in Germany.[2]

From Heidelberg, where at the close of the Middle Ages these studies had been so flourishing,[3] James Micyllus, professor of Greek since 1533, wrote to his friend Melanchthon:

> Piteously find I here the poor Muses despised,
> And in the people's eyes of all their glory robbed.
> Who asks for poetry now? who cares for the singers of old?
> Who now thinks a poem worthy undying fame?
> Who now cares to read Demosthenes' splendid orations,
> Or to thee, Cicero, gives earnest study and thought?
> Hellas and Latium are by all alike despised,
> And again the barbarous flood rushes tumultuously in.

On gain alone and lucrative posts the hearts of men were set, and in this sense the present age might indeed be called 'the golden age.' He too was compelled, for the sake of wife and children, to think of bettering his position. But where, in these dismal times, should he fix his hopes?[4] With sorrow Micyllus recalled the good old days when one faith still united all, when virtue, piety, and loyalty still went for something, and when learning met with recognition. Hopelessly he gazed into the future.[5]

Luther himself was by no means deceived as to the

[1] Döllinger, i. 503.
[2] See above, p. 97.
[3] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 119 ff.
[4] Classen, pp. 114–115.
[5] Kampschulte, ii. 277.

rapid progress of decay in culture and learning. In 1538, in conversation with friends, he had expressed his fear that before a few years had passed there would be found to be a great lack of scholars, and that people would 'carve them out of boards, or dig them up from the earth, if only they could get hold of any somehow or other.'[1] What an altogether different ring his words had in the first years of his appearance before the world!

The actual significance and the leading aim of humanism—namely, to endow learning and life with the spirit and the fine forms of ancient classical culture—could not fail to be lost sight of amid the religious contentions which were becoming more and more general. Classical study, moreover, as a dominant element in school instruction and education, was reduced to an exceedingly limited sphere of influence by the growing anarchy and refractoriness, and was less and less regarded as an educational means in any Christian sense. The most learned and most highly intellectual connoisseurs of ancient literature gained little pleasure or success at the gymnasia and universities, and turned their minds more and more to philology as a special subject isolated from general culture.

And so, before the middle even of the sixteenth century, the race of actual humanists with their far-reaching intellectual vision, their poetic enthusiasm, their artistic refinement, had well-nigh died out, and in their place had come a succession of earnest, estimable schoolmen who, most of them in humble positions, little esteemed, misunderstood and unsuccessful, fought

[1] Collected Works, lxii. 339–340

with desperate courage against the growing barbarism. In fine, a body of learned men, active in both ways—as schoolmen and university professors delivering lectures to audiences for the most part small and thankless, and as authors editing and expounding ancient classical works, and occasionally cultivating a kind of learned school poetry, but who, themselves tainted with the prevalent tastelessness, were unable to stem the universal deterioration.

First and foremost among schoolmen and philologists of high merit are Joachim Camerarius, Michael Neander, George Fabricius, and Jerome Wolf.

Camerarius, in 1526 teacher at the gymnasium at Nuremberg,[1] in 1535 professor of Greek and Roman literature at the university of Tübingen, and holding the same position at Leipzig from 1541 to 1574, was 'one of the most important, if not the most important, of all the philologists of Germany in the sixteenth century,' owing to his editions and explanations of Homer, of the Greek elegiac poets, of Sophocles, Herodotus, Thucydides, and other classical writers. Although he also wrote a short guide to rhetoric and other school books, his work lay chiefly in the region of higher philology—*i.e.* of criticism.[2]

On the other hand, the no less astounding activity of the Ilfeld rector Michael Neander,[3] as a pedagogic and philologic author, was chiefly confined to the instruction of the young. He is credited with forty-four large works of extensive, if not precisely critical,

[1] See above, p. 99.

[2] Bursian, pp. 186–189. ** A specimen of the Latin poetry of Joachim Camerarius is given by Ellinger, p. 58 f. (*Elegia hodoporica et encomium rusticae vitae*).

[3] See above, p. 88.

learning.[1] One of his favourite pupils was Laurentius Rhodomannus, who worked later as professor of Latin and Greek at Jena, and finally at Wittenberg, and who belongs to the most prolific and skilful Greek poets of the new era.[2]

The Meissen rector George Fabricius[3] had profited by a lengthy stay in Rome for making exhaustive researches on topography, and on the architectural and inscriptional monuments of the town, and he published several valuable works on these subjects. He wrote descriptions of travels in Italy and Germany in Latin hexameters, published improved texts of ancient classics, a collection of old Christian poets, and several school books and collections from prose writers for classical instruction.[4]

The labours in the field of authorship of the Augsburg rector Hieronymus Wolf[5] were especially devoted to Socrates and Demosthenes, of whose collected works he had again and again brought out reprints, with numerous textual improvements, Latin translations and explanatory remarks. He also prepared editions of

[1] Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, ii[b]. 388 ff. ; Bursian, p. 212.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 213, 217, 229, 235-236. ** Bender says (p. 10) : 'It is significant for the status of Greek acquirements at that time (*circa* 1600) that Rhodomann met with invincible obstacles at Wittenberg when he wanted to combine the reading of Greek historians with his lectures on history : the students did not understand enough Greek to fall in with this idea. Rhodomann, therefore, in 1605, complained in an *Oratio de lingua Graeca* of the low estimation into which Greek had fallen ; the chief blame of this he laid on the teachers, who themselves understood nothing of the subject, and therefore advised the students to have nothing to do with it ; to which advice a willing ear was lent. No teacher should therefore be appointed who did not possess "laudabilem linguae graecae cognitionem usu confirmatam." '

[3] See above, p. 78.

[4] Bursian, pp. 205-208.

[5] See above, p. 103.

later Greek authors, as well as Latin translations; and by a comprehensive account of Byzantine historians, in three folio volumes, the materials for which were supplied by the Fugger library and the libraries at Vienna and Augsburg, he gave the first impulse in Germany to the study of Byzantine history.

His pupil, David Hoeschel, who died in 1617, as rector of the gymnasium at Augsburg, also did distinguished service by his editions of later Greek writers and of different works of Greek Church fathers.[1] From all which we gather that there was no lack at Augsburg of patrons of classical studies, even if in general the love of learning, as the school conditions show,[2] had declined.

Of actual brilliant Latinists, Germany, after the second half of the sixteenth century, had but few to show. Neither the zealous Rostock professor Arnold Burenius, nor the Marburg professor John Glandorp, an able investigator in the domain of Roman antiquities, nor Michael Neander's cousin, Basil Faber, finally rector at Erfurt and publisher of a Latin dictionary, can be described as such. On the other hand, John Caselius, who after a three years' residence in Italy became professor at Rostock, and later at Helmstädt, where, until his death in 1613, he was the centre of classical studies, follows still in the track of the earlier humanists. His conversations and letters, as also his numerous translations from Greek authors, are written in pure Latin.[3] An admirable Latin stylist as well as

[1] Bursian, pp. 210–212, 236–238.

[2] See above, p. 103.

[3] Krabbe, i. 718 ff.; Bursian, pp. 221–223; Lisch, *Jahrbücher*, xix. 12 ff. ** Fr. Koldewey, *Jugendgeschichte des Humanisten Joh. Caselius*, Brunswick, 1902.

a connoisseur of Latin literature was the promising but prematurely deceased critic, Valentine or Valens Acidalius, who also spent several years in Italy († 1595). Compared with him and with John Wilms,[1] the remaining German Latinists of that period appear but as stars from the second to the sixth magnitude.[2] So, for instance, Frederic Taubmann, from 1595 to 1613 professor of poetry at Wittenberg, who did his best to stem the downfall of classical study in Germany, but who was himself unable, either in style, intelligence, or culture, to rise to the height of genuine humanism. As an expounder of a few of the classics he is merely a dry summariser.[3]

Men thoroughly acquainted with Greek and promoters of Greek study in the last half of the sixteenth century were, next to James Micyllus († 1558), Wilhelm Xylander (Holtzmann), who succeeded Micyllus as professor of the Greek language at Heidelberg († 1576); John Hartung († 1579, at Freiburg-in-the-Breisgau); Nathan Chytraeus, professor at Rostock and rector at Bremen († 1598), and his brother, David Chytraeus, at the same time one of the most important strictly Lutheran theologians, who died in 1600, as professor of theology at Rostock. Martin Crusius, professor of the Greek and Latin languages at Tübingen († 1607), was so skilful in Greek expression that he was able to write down in Greek 7000 sermons which he had heard; but original conception, taste, and judgment he did not possess. Frederic Sylburg († 1596, at Heidel-

[1] To whom we shall return later on.

[2] So says Bursian, p. 244.

[3] Ebeling, *Friedr. Taubmann*, pp. 141–160; ** cf. Bursian, pp. 244–245; see also above, p. 291.

berg) possessed the most comprehensive knowledge of Greek literature. He was indefatigable in the editing and criticism of Greek authors, and he was co-worker in a great 'Griechische Sprachschatz' ('Treasury of Greek Speech'), published by the learned printer Henricus Stephanus, whose acquaintance he had made in Paris.[1]

Concerning the knowledge of the general history of literature and bibliography, the Swiss, Conrad Gesner († 1565, at Zurich), rendered highly meritorious service; he was also one of the most distinguished representatives of natural science.[2]

The progress of specialised philology is undeniable, but the schools were not able to keep pace with it. While the learned professors were busying themselves with arduous researches into the minutest details, they could often only assume among their pupils the very barest requisites of preliminary knowledge. When Melanchthon, in 1546, subjected the laws of the university of Wittenberg to a fresh revision, he said, with regard to the philological faculty: 'It is to be desired that youngsters should not be sent to the academy until they have acquired a moderate knowledge of grammar and some knowledge of Latin; as, however, the pupils come here in a more or less ignorant condition, and wanting in grammatical knowledge, and as they are handed over to teachers who give private instruction, we herewith enjoin earnestly on such teachers that they fulfil their duty conscientiously.'[3] At Wittenberg, Leipzig, Greifswald, and other universities a teacher

[1] Bursian, p. 196 ff.

[2] ** Cf. under heading of Natural Sciences.

[3] *Corp. Reform.* x. 1016; cf. Löschke, p. 193.

of elementary Latin grammar was appointed; at Wittenberg the Elector Christian I abolished this assistant professorship, but only to replace it by private teachers. Specialists in philology, like Camerarius, aimed at a knowledge of Greek and Latin literature which should be as comprehensive in scope as it was thorough in elementary detail, but at the universities themselves the requirements with regard to Latin and Greek sank to a barren mediocrity, and even this level was often not reached. Of the baccalaureates the Helmstädt statutes of 1576 required only 'the beginnings of the Greek and Latin languages,' of the magisters only 'a moderate knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages.' [1] At the university of Basle it was complained, in 1597, that among the students who were to attend lectures there was not merely a certain poverty in linguistic knowledge of Latin, but downright ignorance in speaking as well as in writing.[2]

As reading and imitation of Latin poets and committing them to memory formed a chief element in all school plans, school poetry, the legacy of the earlier humanism, was naturally more widely cultivated than Ciceronian Latin and the art of imitating and counterfeiting the ancient rhetoricians. There is no doubt that this means of culture had its useful side, as it was well adapted to furthering a better appropriation, so to

[1] Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 195, where passages are cited to show that only a slight acquaintance with Greek was to be expected from the students. 'The professor of Greek at Wittenberg, Vitus Ortel, has indeed fixed two hours for the reading of Euripides, but he combines with this an hour of Greek grammar and "actus apostolorum, ut habeant auditores exempla regularum." Chytraeus in his *Oratio de ratione studii theol.* (1560), presupposes only, for the ordinary use of the theologians, the Vulgata.'

[2] Ochs, *Gesch. von Basel.* vi. 428.

say, of the language, a truer understanding of the old poets, and a finer taste; and there is equally no doubt that real poets, like James Balde later on, knew how to adapt the antique form to the expression of genuine poetry. It is therefore unjust to condemn Latin school poetry in general. But it is equally obvious that the majority of men, however well practised in technical form, produced no poetry; and that at a time of the greatest anarchy, religious, political and social, and of general intellectual decadence, the mechanical cultivation of the forms of an ancient language, pursued to excess both in and out of school, could only serve to increase the prevailing confusion of taste and to obstruct and check true poetry. It was, moreover, especially disastrous that in Germany—in contradistinction to Italy—it was not the most refined and cultured classes which set the fashion in this scholastic poetry, but, to a great extent, the slightly esteemed, badly paid, needy and struggling German schoolmen. 'Poets' became numerous as the sand of the sea; but as to poetry, it was in a parlous condition. Poetry separated itself more and more from the living fountains of national life, to make its home at courts and universities, and its productions sank to the level of lifeless, petrified verse-making.[1]

[1] Cf. Goedeke, ii. 89–119, where over 270 Latin poets are catalogued. Gerard Faust, in 1546, counted up no fewer than ninety-two Latin poets in Germany. 'Poeta,' wrote Nicodemus Frischlin in 1581, 'is a Greek word meaning a creator, a wonder-worker. And I am certain of this (without any intention of disparaging verse-makers, who are also worthy of commendation) that in our German nation there are not thirty or forty to be found to whom this title rightfully belongs.' 'At that time,' adds Strauss (p. 141), 'when there were not three or four, yea, verily, not one single one to be found.' 'In the Middle Ages,' says Von Raumer (i. 3), 'for want of Latin classics the standard style of the gold and silver

In manufacturing all these bombastic tributary verses, these inscriptions, epigrams, odes, elegies, and

age was lost sight of more and more, and people wrote Latin in their own way. But this Latin has at any rate given us those imperishable Church hymns, "Dies irae," "Media Vita"! One such hymn is worth the whole lot of *poemata* made by the later philologists in imitation of Horace and other ancient poets.' 'A number of orations and poems of this period are only flourishes and imitations pieced together. Each specimen in which the form of a classical example was imitated with a certain amount of skill was considered equal to a classic. Hence the general liberality with the epithets: a second Cicero, a second Flaccus; the belief spread more and more that everybody could be a genius, an original poet,' pp. 129–130. ** Ellinger, *Deutsche Lyriker des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, iv. f. 'The great mass of the Latin lyrics of Germany at this period consist of religious verses, or *vers d'occasion*. The Bible naturally offered the most abundant material for religious poetry; accordingly we find certain books of the Bible, specially adapted to poetic purposes, very frequently transposed and paraphrased into Latin verse. The Psalms and the Song of Solomon were the most favourite subjects; occasionally, however, other books of the Holy Scriptures were treated in this manner, as, for instance, from the Old Testament, the "Jesus Sirach," by Henry Hermann (1585), part of the Book of Daniel, by Matthew Gothus (1573); and from the New Testament, the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians and Galatians, which John Rothius (1563) paraphrased, in a most insipid and threadbare manner. The subjects most frequently chosen for paraphrasing were naturally the Psalms, either single ones or the whole Psalter. As the Psalms, relatively speaking, lend themselves best to this kind of treatment, we meet among the paraphrases of this book some really successful productions. The Sunday Gospels and Epistles were also frequently handled in this manner. . . . Latin poetry, as might be expected, dealt also with the Christian festivals. Innumerable are the poems bearing the titles "In natalem diem," "In resurrectionem Jesu Christi," "In Pentecosten"; it may be said with truth that there was scarcely one among those poets whose works were at all numerous, who did not compose one or more such poems; many of them have left nothing else of this sort,' p. vii. 'Pure, original, religious lyrics, as may be expected from the period, and from the contemporary achievements in sacred song, are on the whole seldom met with. . . . There was only one poet, John Stigel, who now and then succeeded in constructing an original religious lyric. Next to Stigel the two most prominent religious poets were George Fabricius and John Mylius,' p. viii. 'As for the verses written for occasions, the largest number were composed in celebration of weddings; countless are the *carmina nuptialia* which the Latin poets produced for the weddings of their Maecenases and colleagues.

even in the production of their more pretentious works with interminable dedicatory prefaces, the great object of the 'poets' had been to obtain honoraria, presents, or commissions.[1] Hence a very deluge of laudation, triumph and funeral poems, celebrating now marriages, now deaths, now entries of princely personages and victorious armies; even plague ravages and other general calamities had their songsters; and all this in more or less bad Latin, full of empty bombast, with ransacking of the whole repertory of ancient mythology.[2]

It is obvious that with such a quantity of verses, all of the same sort, great monotony was unavoidable, and it is equally obvious that scarcely any of these verses can claim any other than historical value.' Other kinds were *Trauerpoesie* (funeral verses), xiii. f.; *Gelegenheitsgedichte zu akademischen Festen und Ereignissen, insbesondere zu Doktorpromotionen* (*vers d'occasion* for academic feasts and events, especially the bestowal of doctors' degrees); *Lehrhafte Gedichte*, xviii. f. (Didactic verses), Eclogues; xxi. f.; Heroics, xxii. f. p. xxiii. 'To the favourite productions of new Latin poetry in Germany belongs the "Travelling song or Hodochoricon." The passion for travel which characterised this age co-operated with the bent of the new-Latin poets to produce descriptive and pictorial verse.'

[1] 'A very large part of humanistic literature,' says Paulsen (p. 149), 'consists actually of attempts at tapping the princely and municipal coffers by means of Latin speeches and verses.' Among these were an endless number of reciprocal adulations of the 'poets.' 'These German schoolmasters in Roman togas, crowning each other mutually with laurels, have something irresistibly comic about them.' Ambros, *Gesch. der Musik*, iii. 377. ** It is characteristic of the absurdity of the system of dedication in those days that books were even dedicated to seven-year-old schoolboys! Cf. Görges, p. 8, note 3.

[2] Cf. Chlumecky, i. 263. 'It was not the divine afflatus which constituted these men poets, but the need of the means of livelihood; poetry had come down to the level of a "Brotstudium" (study for bread).' (Cf. Ellinger, x.) A very characteristic figure among poets of this sort, who welcomed all the world with song, is Huldrich Buchner, teacher at the school of Wertheim-on-the-Main; under the title *Pleiades* he published in 1601 over 700 epigrammatic poems. Cf. A. Kaufmann in the *Archiv des historischen Vereins für Unterfranken*, xix. Heft 2, pp. 45–46. Even the smallest gifts from the subjects of the 'poems' were welcome to the 'poets.' Frederic Taubmann, in his youth once received two groschen for a Latin birthday felicitation. Ebeling, p. 20.

The Leipzig professor, Gregory Bersmann, published in 1596 three volumes chiefly consisting of wedding and funeral poems; in one of the first kind Apollo appears with all the Muses to do honour to the bridal pair. Paul Schede, styled Melissus, librarian at Heidelberg († 1602), addressed laudatory songs to the maiden Queen of England, in which he compared her at one and the same time with Venus, Juno, Pallas Athene, and Charis, and also praised her as a rose. Nicholas Reusner, professor at Jena († 1602), composed, besides innumerable elegies, odes, epigrams, and anagrams for all his patrons and friends, an epigram on each of the plants and animals in Paradise.[1] Caspar Bruschius dedicated to a Leipzig senator an elegy on his dead peacock, which was intended to remind him of the transitoriness of all things earthly.[2] Among Frischlin's elegies there is one on a 'peacefully deceased dog.'[3]

[1] W. Menzel, *Deutsche Dichtung*, ii. 275, 278. ** Ellinger, p. xx.

[2] Horawitz, *Bruschius*, p. 78.

[3] 'In obitu lepidissimi canis, cui nomen Berillus erat, quiete defuncti.' Strauss, p. 325, note. It is significant of the German-Latin Renaissance, that by far the majority of its representatives had not the slightest taste for the fine arts. Thus, for instance, Franz Modius 'in his poetic eulogy of his native Bruges, which he compares to Rome and Athens, never once bethinks him of the famous Bruges school of painters, the masters Hubert and Jan van Eyck and Jan Memling. In the preface to the *Pandectae triumphales*, the second half of which is illustrated with woodcuts after Jost Amman, he pays the latter the bad compliment of saying that if we derive pleasure from the pictorial representation of jousting and knightly feats, we get still more pleasure from reading a good description of them; for while painting and sculpture only delight the eye, books feed and cultivate the mind and soul of man. Painting offered a dumb, empty and often false representation, just as it had shaped itself in the brain of the artist; books, on the other hand, afforded living and accurate instruction; painters were generally ignorant people, but literary works were composed by scholars with exact knowledge of all facts and circumstances, and learning was as high above painting as the learned were above the unlearned, the living above the dead.' Seibt, ii. 50–51.

From the page-long catalogues of 'poets,' who almost without exception have reaped the merited fate of oblivion, only a few, such as Frischlin, Melissus, George Sabinus (Melanchthon's son-in-law, and first rector of the university of Königsberg), had any real poetic sense, and something more than a mere talent for imitation.[1]

It was extremely prejudicial both to literature and life that very many of the most gifted Latin verse-makers did not take for their models the better productions of a Horace, a Virgil and other classical writers, but chose by preference to read and imitate the Roman erotic poets, in consequence of which what was already scarcely endurable among the Romans became still worse under the influence of contemporary coarseness.

This objectionable note of the new Latin poetry had already been struck by the leader of the younger humanist school, Conrad Celtes. In a Latin ode he called on Apollo to vouchsafe to come from Italy to Germany with his lyre. Apollo came; not, however, the same god who had inspired Pindar's songs of victory

[1] ** As a poet 'who could express delight in nature and her phenomena in a charming manner,' Ellinger (p. xv. f.) points to Michael Haslobius; but as an exception. (He gives specimens of his poetry at p. 64 ff.) For the rest, feeling for nature has small place in the elegies of these Latin poets of the sixteenth century, p. xii. 'Fine descriptions are written with endless flow of words, but in spite of the great expenditure of language no vivid effect is produced. If, for instance, we consider the detailed poem in which Bernard Mollerus describes the Rhine stream, we find scarcely one bit of successful, vivid scene-painting; the sole exception is the characterisation of the *Vierwaldstätter* lake and its surroundings,' p. xxiii f. George Sabinus (*Elegiae*, lib. 2), while treating much else very superficially, knows how to find adequate expression for the emotions which the sight of the Alps stirs in him. Concerning Elias Corvinus, poet laureate and professor in the faculty of artists at Vienna († 1602), cf. *Nachträge zu Aschbach I.* i. 313–331.

and Horace's Roman odes, but the Apollo of the degraded, shameless imperial age. In his 'Libri Amorum,' the German humanist outdid the Roman poet Ovid, for with utter cynicism he gives coarse descriptions of his own actual or imaginary love affairs and excesses at Cracow, Ratisbon, Mayence, Lübeck, and sinks thus into the lowest depths of pornography.

Among his successors the North-German writer, Caspar von Barth (born at Küstrin in 1587), in his 'Juvenilia' of the year 1607 and his 'Amabilia' of 1612, takes the palm for lasciviousness. His models were alternately Catullus, Ovid, Propertius, and the worst pornographists of the Italian Renaissance, and he did not scruple to translate the vilest 'Whores' Dialogues' of Pietro Aretino.[1] With what absence of taste this lasciviousness was combined is shown by Matthew Zuber, for instance, in his love poems published at Wittenberg in 1599. He compares his beloved not only to his dove, his sparrow, his squirrel, but also to his chimney, his silkworm, and his leech.[2]

Next to the service of Venus, that of Bacchus, the boundless love of drink of the period, found also poetic describers, and it is difficult to believe the poets when,

[1] Cf. for these and other poets of the same kind W. Menzel, *Deutsche Dichtung*, ii. 267 ff., 279 ff. Numbers of 'poets,' as Alberdingk Thijm (*De la Littérature néerlandaise* 126) rightly remarks, adopted the same line for their artistic performances as did the painters of naturalism: they imitated nature closely, often in its most loathsome aberrations. ** Concerning the taste, already developed among the humanists of the fifteenth century, for inventing love stories for exercises in style, cf. Wattenbach, *Peter Luder*, Karlsruhe, 1869, p. 110. See also *Anz. für Kunde deutscher Vorzeit*, 1874, p. 212.

[2] ** W. Menzel, ii. 279.

like Vincentius Obsopœus at the end of his 'Ars Bibendi,' they assure us:

Drunk is my muse,
A sober life is mine.[1]

The worst degradation of the poetic art was brought about gradually by the ceremony of crowning poets, which had come into vogue in Germany after the end of the fifteenth century, and spread like a pestilence.

The first German who received the laurel crown was Conrad Celtes; on April 18, 1487, he was solemnly crowned poet at Nuremberg by the Emperor Frederic III. Under Frederic's successors these tokens of honour became more frequent; the empire was soon swarming with 'crowned poets,' who were at the same time nominated 'imperial Counts Palatine,' and as such were entitled, besides other privileges, to crown other poets. With lavish hand these Counts Palatine now bestowed the laurel crown on friends, acquaintances, and protégés without much regard for the worthiness of the recipient; not a few of them made a regular trade of the title 'crowned poet,' and actually sold the right to bestow 'poet crowns' to people who were not crowned. Many such 'privileged individuals' went about from land to land, from place to place, dressed up in eccentric fashion, announced their coming like tight-rope dancers and bear-leaders with drums and trumpets, and rode round proclaiming aloud that

[1] Ebria musa mea est,
Sobria vita mihi.

Obsopoeus in his *Ars Bibendi* (1536), a parody of the *Ars Amandi* of Ovid, 'paints first a symposium of the Graces, in whose company wise friends are happy; then the transition to chattering and frivolous talk, and concludes with a scene of wild, barbarous carousal, at which the guests throw beakers and pitchers at each other, like whilom Hercules among the Cyclops.' W. Menzel, ii. 272.

they were invested with imperial authority to crown poets, and by this 'crowning' to awaken poetic talent. Then the young people flocked round them, and after giving no matter what answers to questions addressed to them, and on payment of a sum agreed upon beforehand, they carried off amid the acclamation, or laughter, or mockery of the crowd, the warrants of coronation. Sometimes the unworthy performance was concluded with all sorts of ceremonies, always with a carousal. Two of the most audacious of such chafferers and vagabonds were Willichius Westhow and Bartholomew Bilovius from Stendal, the latter a scholar who had been turned out of many posts, whom hunger had driven to this trade of poet-crowning, and who carried on the business with great zeal in Leipzig and Wittenberg. At Wittenberg he sold the insignia of poetic renown, piece by piece for eight thalers. The Wittenberg professor, Frederic Taubmann, himself a crowned poet and one of the greatest versifiers of his day, began by attacking Bilovius and his proceedings in a pamphlet of the year 1602; but only two years later, in 1604, he became reconciled with him, and even gave him letters of recommendation, which Bilovius made use of in his further coronation travels.[1]

To the crowned poets and imperial Counts Palatine, who were at the same time schoolmasters and learned philologists, belonged the Tyrolese Michael Toxites, the Dutch-Bohemian Caspar Bruschius, and the Suabian Nicodemus Frischlin, three men whose doings and history are worth closer investigation, because in many directions, such as education, culture and learning, and in the mutual intercourse of poets and scholars, they

[1] Ebeling, pp. 134–137.

throw light on that period, and are truthful mirrors of the restless, turbulent, adventurous spirit which characterised it. But they represent also another aspect of the age, for, although they were disorderly livers and hard drinkers, they exhibited also indefatigable literary activity and a power of and delight in work which, as such, calls for recognition; for this reason also they are worthy of notice.

Michael Schütz, styled Toxites, was born in 1515 at Sterzing in Tyrol. He studied first at Dillingen, and then, being supplied with the pecuniary means by the Augsburg bishop, Christopher von Stadion, at the University of Tübingen. In 1535 he went to Pavia, where he attended philosophical and medical lectures, then to Wittenberg. After he had gone over to Protestantism, he served from the year 1537 as schoolmaster at Urach in Württemberg. There he led a sorely plagued, uneasy life, and he endeavoured to procure a patron by writing Latin eulogistic poems on the Reutlingen preacher, Matthew Alber. In order to praise Alber worthily, he said, 'it needed a poet like Virgil or a song such as Apollo himself teaches the Muses; but Alber would not despise his "Pierian Muse," for the Tarpeian Jupiter did not despise the humble sacrifice of the poor countryman'; 'Greeks and Romans might be silent concerning their heroes! There was a greater conqueror.' Alber, at Reutlingen had conquered the Papacy. In this way Toxites made his *début* as 'poet.' This method, however, worked for his destruction, for, lo! a mocking poem against the town-pastor which was posted up on the Urach council-hall was attributed to him. On the mere suspicion of being its author Toxites, a victim

of the legal system of the day, was obliged to go to prison and be subjected to trial by torture. Four times he suffered the agonies of the rack, asserting his innocence all the time 'by his soul's salvation and by the Day of Judgment.' Only the fifth racking extorted from him the false statement of his guilt. For the expiation of this imputed crime he was condemned to the heaviest punishment; for, said the attorneys of the under-bailiff of Urach, he had not only vilified a pious Christian man, but also, by the words of the poem, 'the preachers only preach what the magistrate wishes,' he had cast suspicion on the magistrate, and thereby attacked the authority appointed by the Duke, which amounted to an attack on the Duke himself. He must therefore be handed over to the executioner, 'for he would be better dead than living, safer under the earth than upon it.' Finally, however, he was not condemned to bodily but only to 'civic death,' *i.e.* all his rights and honours were taken from him. Having been scourged with rods by the public executioner all the way to the upper gate of the town, he went with his wife and two children in a pitiful condition to Basle, and thence to Strassburg. Here John Sturm took pity on him and procured for him, in 1542, a post as teacher at the gymnasium. As, however, his yearly income of some sixty florins did not suffice for the maintenance of himself and family, and he 'was daily oppressed with much want and anxiety,' he again set to work to obtain patrons by Latin 'begging verses.' In poems to Protestant scholars and princes he inveighed against 'the odious tyranny and the abominable heresies of the Papacy,' while at the same time singing a song of praise to the strictly Catholic Augsburg bishop,

Otto Truchsess of Waldburg, in reward for which Bishop Otto, at the Spires Diet in 1544, obtained for him, through the Emperor, public coronation as a poet. In eulogistic distichs to John Sturm, Toxites said he esteemed himself fortunate that his long chapter of misery had at length come to an end, and that he once more beheld the sunshine. He himself, however, did not let this sun shine on his pupils; he neglected his school duties, gave himself up to drink, and was consequently dismissed in 1545. He betook himself to Basle, but, unable to get employment there, in spite of Sturm's recommendation, he came back to Strassburg, attended Sturm's lectures on classical authors, published his college notes with Sturm's consent, and thus earned a little money. When Sturm went to France as agent of the Smalcald League to collect money, he took Toxites with him as companion.

In 1548 Toxites turned up again at Basle. The conditions of the Interim which had been proclaimed at Strassburg had, he pretended, caused him qualms of conscience, and he had not been able to remain there. At Basle he enrolled himself as student of law at the university, in the hope that the renowned Boniface Amerbach would interest himself in him 'as Doctor and Apollo.' When this hope failed he again turned to the teacher's calling, and undertook the post of schoolmaster in the little town of Brugg in the Aargau; and now, from a strict Lutheran he became in a trice 'of Zwinglian convictions.' At Brugg also, however, he found no rest for the sole of his foot. He neglected the school, because he was a slave to drink, and yearned to be back again at Basle. In order to ingratiate himself with the leaders of opinion there

he began a long Latin poem on 'The Love of Christ,' which was to deal, in three books, with the whole Christian religion. 'If,' he said in the first thirty-two distichs, which he sent to Basle, 'if there is still a people left that does not love Christ, let them read my poem. Every other subject has had its songster—the nature of things, the vineyards, agriculture, the divisions of the year, the stars of heaven, the sea, the earth, herbs, precious stones; I, however, mean to sing of Christ.' With the ancient gods he was not going to have anything more to do; he 'had not been brought up in the caves of the Muses; not Phœbus, but Christ, inspired him and was his Apollo; the Apollo of the Greeks was a false god.' A second great 'heroic poem,' a sort of 'Anti-Lucretius,' was intended to interpret the utterances of philosophers on the nature of things according to the rule of the Holy Scriptures—to treat of the Creation, the Fall, the Redemption, and also 'of the renewal of the world which would one day take place, of fate, and of many other things which God had revealed to us'; it was his wish to be regarded as a 'singer of piety and of true philosophy.' His immediate wish, however, was to find a lucrative post at Basle, and this desire was not fulfilled. So then, turning his back on 'barbarous Brugg,' he found himself in 1551, for better or worse luck, back once more at Strassburg, where he again gave occasional instruction at the gymnasium, edited for the press, in addition to other literary work, three volumes of Sturm's lectures on Cicero's orations, and carried on at the same time the business of lodging-house keeper and quack doctor for people travelling through the town, and for sick students. This last occupation was

not particularly strange, for not only barbers, shavers, herbalists, old women, &c., but also the wives of magisters, practised quackery. There was, indeed, one 'lady magister' who was able out of eight aromatic herbs to distil a drink 'good for vertigo and apoplexy, able to restore speech, and strengthening for the brain and understanding of men.' But Toxites was also active in the region of politics, and, moreover, assistant to Sturm at the time of the League which the Elector Maurice of Saxony and his confederates formed in 1552 with the French King Henry II against the Emperor Charles V. In connexion with this the 'crowned poet' struck upon other sources of money-making. For the young King Edward VI of England he composed a complete catechism in distichs. The scheme of it was as follows: 'Piety personified expounds to the King, article after article, a Protestant creed; Christ makes for him a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer; the Sacraments explain their nature to him, and the catechism concludes with a speech from Calliope.' At the same time he also published a laudatory poem on the Bishop of Padua and his father, the Austrian general, Nicholas of Salm. For a commentary on Cicero's 'Rhetoric' dedicated to the Catholic abbots of Kempten and Murbach he was granted, in 1556, while lamenting 'poverty and ill-fate,' a yearly income for five years.

Meanwhile he had procured the favour of Duke Christopher of Württemberg. After the real author of the Urach jeering verses had been discovered Christopher wished to make up to Toxites for the injustice which he had suffered, and towards the end of 1556 he not only made over to him the professorship of poetry at the University of Tübingen, but also appointed him

'Pädogogarch' of the whole duchy. By virtue of this office it was his business, as chief school-man in the employment of Christopher, to keep watch over all the schools in the duchy and give his opinion on their condition. In a memorandum addressed to the Duke in 1557 he said: 'From the schools there go forth over the whole of Germany teachers and preachers who by their immorality and unfitness for the vocation of teacher turn away the people from striving after godliness and the young from the love of learning. The two causes of this evil are the complete overthrow of all moral discipline, on which our forefathers set so much value, and the loss of the right methods of instruction. If the moral corruption of youth goes on as it has done hitherto, there can be nothing in store but utter barbarism. For there are no schools or academies which are not full of vice, so that the Protestants are in the very worst odour with the Catholics; they educate anything rather than a Christian community.' And all this, he said, was indeed clearer than daylight.[1]

Toxites accordingly advocated more stringent discipline for all the schools, and also for the University of the duchy, whereby he drew on himself at Tübingen the ill-will not only of the students but also of several of the professors. All sorts of calumnies were spread abroad against him; verses in ridicule of him were fixed up on the Tübingen church door, and he was threatened with ear-boxing and beating. The son of one of his colleagues became specially hostile towards him. His complaints of the insults he received had, as it seems, no effect, and so he resolved to seek a new

[1] Döllinger, i. 538.

mode of livelihood and to exchange the profession of teacher for that of doctor.

'Only to the higher art of medicine,' he said, should he in future devote himself. In 1561 he attended medical lectures at Paris; in the following year he went to England, and two years later he reappeared at Strassburg in the character of 'doctor of medicine.' Whether and where he had legitimately acquired this title is not known. He plunged into the writings of Theophrastus Paracelsus, who 'had brought back again to light from the darkness of the sophists the truth in philosophy and medicine.' [1] He published no less than twenty-three of these writings, translated some pieces into Latin, and expounded others with the help of the prolific satirist and lampoonist, John Fischart, who 'gladly extended the asked-for aid to the highly renowned doctor, Michael Toxites.' A specially high place among the writings of Paracelsus was assigned to the 'Astronomia magna,' or 'Die ganze Philosophia sagax der grossen und kleinen Welt,' which Toxites, in 1571, dedicated to the Elector Augustus of Saxony. This work 'justified not astrology only but even magic, soothsaying and spiritualism'; it was also intended 'to help to a deeper understanding of the Christian religion'; 'a celestial kind of necromancy was to be opposed to the hellish black art.' Extensive philosophical knowledge of practical realities did not save Toxites from occultism of all sorts. He actually published two pamphlets on the blessed 'Philosopher's Stone' ('Von dem gebenedeiten Stein der Weisen'), and also edited a couple of herb-books by the Viennese

[1] Concerning Paracelsus see our remarks, vol. xii. p. 279 ff.

magic doctor, Bartholomew Carrichter, in one of which he endeavoured to set forth 'how the celestial influences work on herbs.' Alchemistic experiments he had repeatedly performed, he said, when he was still schoolmaster and professor, but only 'at great expense, with great difficulties in the way, and with little success.' The last years of his life were spent at Hagenau, where he died in 1581, indefatigably active till death as an author. Whereas formerly as 'crowned poet' he had sung in honour both of Protestant and Catholic clergy, scholars, counts and princes, as well as on theological subjects, he made, later on, the attempt to celebrate in distichs the glories of medicine and of his master Paracelsus.[1]

Contemporaneously with Toxites, in 1536, Caspar Bruschius, from Schlackenwald in Bohemia, studied at Tübingen.[2] He was born in 1518. Like Toxites, he was provided with pecuniary help by the Augsburg bishop, Christopher von Stadion. He too went over to Protestantism, and in 1537 dedicated his first literary work, a collection of Latin poems, mostly theological and panegyrical, to the theologians Ambrosius Blarer and Paul Phrygius. Without having taken an academic degree, he went to Ulm, wrote the history of two convents in long poems, was a constant frequenter of the court of Christopher von Stadion at Dillingen, and cele-

[1] Fuller details are given in K. Schmidt, *Michael Schütz.* This pamphlet contains a really instructive piece of the history of civilisation in the sixteenth century (p. 118). ** Concerning the *Querela Anseris* of Michael Toxites, 'one of the most characteristic specimens of the new Latin poetry,' cf. Ellinger, xxvi.

[2] ** *Hauptwerk von Horawitz*, Leipzig, 1874. Horawitz himself contributes additions to this in the *Mitteil. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen*, 16. Jahrg., No. 4, and Falk in the *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, 1875. See also *Kirchenlexicon*, ii. 1382 f.

brated the Bishop in song as the 'incomparable' Maecenas of all scholars. In 1540 he was at Wunsiedel, where he dedicated a German rendering of the 'Funus' of Erasmus to the Catholic Conventuals of Michelfeld. In this same year he accepted the rectorate of the school at Straubing, and while there prepared an edition of Aventin's 'Chronica von Ursprung, Herkommen, und Taten der uralten Teutschen.' His tenure of this school office, however, lasted only a few months.

In the spring of 1541 he was at Nuremberg and Ratisbon. While there he was crowned poet, during the Diet of King Ferdinand I, in return for a paraenetic poem summoning to battle against the Turks. At that time he was again figuring as a Catholic, and in a 'Klage der bedrängten Germania' ('A Lament of afflicted Germania')[1] he praised the former times, in which only one faith prevailed, and there were neither pseudo-prophets nor schisms; he addressed eulogies to the abbots of Kempten and Weingarten, and glorified Charles V, who in return bestowed on him the dignity of an 'Imperial Count Palatine.'

The very next year, however, he composed at Wittenberg, whither he had repaired, an 'heroic poem against the enemies of the Evangel.' Finding no means of subsistence at Wittenberg, he went in 1543 to the University of Leipzig, as private lecturer on the ancient poets, 'deeply distressed in mind at the diabolical fury of Satan,' who had brought things to such a pass that 'almost all the world treated this branch of study with contempt.' In order, however, to secure at least a show of recognition as a 'laurel-crowned poet' he prepared a quantity of poetic tributes of all sorts

[1] *Querela afflictae Germaniae.*

for patrons and friends, and sang the praises of the rector and the professors, the burgomaster and the town councillors, and also the burghers and students of Leipzig. The illness of one of the professors gave him the opportunity of calling upon 'the fever' in several poems to visit mercilessly 'those cruel enemies of the Evangel, the pope and his followers, and the Turks.' In a long poem to a Breslau magister he compared the effects of the Silesian beer to the twelve signs of the zodiac, and depicted, evidently from his own experiences, coarse and revolting drinking bouts.[1] At Tübingen he had already become a strong drinker; he was occasionally thrown from his horse when intoxicated, and he vented himself in poetic declamations against drunkenness as one of the chief vices of the age.[2] He also composed 'poetic prayers' which he dedicated to two boys, and he wrote a 'Christian and delightful narrative of Eve, the first mother, and Abel, Seth and Cain, her sons.'

Meanwhile he had found a patron in Count Günther von Schwarzburg, Lord of Arnstadt and Sondershausen, to whom with the most fulsome flattery he had dedicated a collection of his poems ('Sylvae'), and in 1544 the Count appointed him rector of the school at Arnstadt. Here, in an 'Idyllion,' composed during a sermon, he entered the lists against the monks, those 'big donkeys and scandalous monsters,' endeavoured by means of some Latin odes to 'stimulate the schoolboys of Arnstadt to the attainment of true philosophy,' and by a life of Christ, which they were to study side

[1] There is even a 'complaisant description of a vomit.' Horawitz, p. 75.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 31, 170.

by side with their Plutarch, to form them into good Christians and future 'distinguished heroes.' With sorrow, he said, he had observed that the life of Christ was familiar only to a very few; this, however, was easy to understand 'in such degraded times, in which all men were wholly blinded by the devil and entangled in hellish heresies, and servants only to greed of possession or scandalous pleasures and sickly lusts, and to nothing else, as though there were no longer any God or any eternal judge.' 'The best way, of course, of learning about Christ's life and work was from the Bible, but the Bible was too dear; the covetous booksellers will not sell it under two or three gold florins, whereas my little book can be had for ten or twelve "nummuli."' Nevertheless his instructional labours at Arnstadt came to an end in this very year 1544, in consequence of quarrels with the preacher there. 'How unjustly I have been turned out,' he complained on October 29 of the same year, 'God knows, and He will avenge me sooner or later in the next world.'

In order to obtain a new situation he hastened to Nuremberg, and 'had no doubts but that God would give him a far more beautiful Amaryllis for the boorish Galatea.' As, however, his hopes deceived him, he applied to the Counts of Henneberg, dedicated to them a German translation of Melanchthon's postilles, and conjured the wife of Count George Ernest 'graciously to co-operate, to work, to push, in order that in her husband's lordships all idolatry and worship of images —*i.e.* everything Catholic—should be completely put down, and that the eternal truth should be taught in all churches and schools.' These efforts were followed by success. Count George Ernest at the beginning of

1545, to the great indignation of 'all satellites of papal tyranny,' had founded a Protestant school at Smalcald, and entrusted it to the management of the 'crowned poet,' under the obligation 'to expound the Holy Scriptures daily to all the canons of the principal church and to all the schoolboys.' Bruschius entered on his duties in 1545, but here, too, his triumph was of short duration. A few months only had elapsed when he offered himself to the council of Mühlhausen as teacher, and this step having no result, he applied in 1546 to the council of Lindau. He was actually appointed rector of this school and under favourable conditions; but the following year he was again dismissed.

When 'the evangelical cause' to which for many years he had devoted his pen was defeated in the Smalcald war, Bruschius came forward as glorifier of the 'invincible Emperor,' who had conquered the German 'rebels,' and who was worthy to be compared with Jupiter and Phoebus. Christian and pagan matters were jumbled together by the poet in the most offensive manner.[1]

Since 1548 Bruschius had wandered about in Germany restless and homeless. At one moment he sang the praises of abbots and abbesses, bishops and archbishops, who gave him hospitable welcome or presents

[1] The style of his flattering laudations to the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand is shown by the following lines:

Pareat his, amet hos ac ipsus adoret Olympus,
Fratribus his quid enim majus et orbis habet!
Juppiter astra regit, sed terras Carolus omnes,
Quas videt a pulchra Juppiter arce sua, &c.

An epitaph on the Empress Isabella runs as follows:

Qua nulla in toto pulchrior orbe fuit,
Juppiter in thalamos spreta hanc Junone vocabit.

Horawitz, p. 115.

of money, and expressed himself in favour of the old Church and against the 'Lutheran heresy,' at another moment he called Luther a 'second Elias'[1]; now he declared himself, in an article on the investiture strife, against Gregory VII and in favour of Henry IV, and then again he ranged himself on the side of the Pope, that 'holy man who has suffered much persecution for the sake of righteousness.'[2] Like almost all the humanists he was full of hatred for the Jews, and approved of the cruel persecution of their race. From year to year, changing his place of residence, he went on inexhaustibly producing verses, and also compiled several historical works, among which his 'Klostergeschichte Deutschlands' is the one worthiest of notice. Often he spent his days in rioting and feasting, often in the uttermost penury. Finally he became Protestant pastor in the Upper Palatinate, in which post he again wrote a pamphlet inveighing against the papacy, 'the synagogue of the Antichrist.' His fundamental principle of faith was invariably that 'one man is the devil of another':

> Much enmity we have on every side,
> The world of all that's good is void,
> So full of all that is to be lamented,
> A man may easily become demented.

On November 20, 1559, at the instigation probably of members of the nobility whom he had menaced with a pasquille, he was surprised in a wood, a mile from the town of Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber, and assassinated.[3]

[1] Horawitz, pp. 118, 175, 194. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 167, 194.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 118–201. Among the many personages whom Bruschius celebrated in verse was a certain Baroness Magdalena von Perneck, who went about through Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia and Styria singing at festivities, pp. 181, 184.

A violent end also overtook the highly renowned poet and scholar Frischlin, one of the most illustrious classicists of the Latin-writing Germany of the period.

Nicodemus Frischlin was born in 1547 at Balingen, where his father was dean. At the age of thirteen he had already acquired the art of manufacturing Greek and Latin verses at the 'convent school' of Königsbronn, under the direction of his tutor James Stiger, a Netherlander. In 1563 he entered the university of Tübingen, went through humanistic and theological studies, occupied himself also with astronomy and medicine, and early showed signs of a genius for satire. He was not yet twenty-one when he was appointed professor extraordinary of poetry at the university, and delivered lectures on Latin poets and historians. He reverenced Virgil as the prince of poets, and in his interpretations of this author to the students he endeavoured to show that 'nearly the whole of the papacy with all its ceremonies and usages flowed from Virgil.' Had not 'the intercession of Mary and the Saints, for instance, its prototype in the intercession of Venus for the Trojans? the funeral obsequies for Anchises were a soul-mass; in the sixth book of the "Aeneid" one could trace the idea of purgatory, and in Polyphemus, "that frightful, deformed, atrocious monster, deprived of light," the plain likeness of the Pope was not to be mistaken.'[1] Thus the Classics themselves were utilised for stirring up sectarian hatred.

With his former tutor, Martin Crusius, professor of the Greek and Latin languages, Frischlin was at first on good terms; Crusius, he said in a Graeco-Latin poem, 'by imperishable writings had earned himself un-

[1] Strauss, p. 33.

surpassed renown, and was everywhere prized as the brightest ornament of Greece; his life was blameless, and he was friendly and kind to all men, especially to the virtuous'; in 1575 he still talked of him as the 'Pride of the Greek language.'[1] Crusius, on his part, praised Frischlin as the 'Friend of the Muses, the pride of young men'; he was present at his wedding, and became godfather to his first son. Friction, however, soon arose between the two, who later on, after they had become involved in a learned quarrel, accused each other of the grossest offences.

With the burghers Frischlin came into collision because he had said in an elegy, which was posted up on the church door: 'Piety and faith are banished from Tübingen.' As regards his own piety, it was stated repeatedly in the course of an action against him for libel, 'that he lived a scandalous life, and often got drunk and ill-used his wife; that he also treated most of the professors with contempt, and that he acted the part of court fool at the court at Stuttgart.' To the charge of being a strong wine-drinker Frischlin answered that 'for the refreshment of genius' he did, like other poets, sometimes indulge in a strong drink. If they were going to clear the university of all drinkers a great number of posts would be vacated; where, for instance, would be the professors Liebler, Planer and Burckard?'[2] To the much respected reformed theologian Lambert Danaeus, who reproached him in later years for drinking too much and acting as court fool at the ducal table, he answered that he drank as often as he felt inclined as a good German and as a poet among friends. 'As a good German' because, after

[1] Strauss, pp. 20, 83.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 59–67.

all, it is the national failing to drink more than we eat; 'as a poet' because the verses of a water-drinker are worth nothing. 'If my Lambert Danaeus will not dance with my Pythia, he must drain a beaker in punishment. We are the best of friends, we are brothers, we are colleagues; I the fool of my prince, thou the fool of thy fellow-burghers; I a joker for myself, thou for the people; I the courtier Aristippus, thou Diogenes the Cynic.'[1]

At the court at Stuttgart Frischlin was in high favour with Duke Louis, who was himself a strong drinker.[2] Like the Wittenberg professor Frederic Taubmann at the Dresden court,[3] he was famous for being so amusing at banquets, but he laid himself out in far more ways than Taubmann for the amusement of his sovereign prince; he composed comedies for him and helped in their performance, and he enlivened the court festivals with endlessly long Latin poems, not exactly remarkable for their ideas or their form. When Louis celebrated his nuptials in 1575, Frischlin distinguished himself as elegiac, epic and dramatic writer. His description of the wedding appeared in seven books, each containing more than 700 hexameters. He begins by calling on Christ and the Holy Ghost for help; but Apollo, Bacchus and Ceres, Mars and Minerva are not passed over; at the hymeneal altar Louis appears 'like unto a god.' All the distinguished guests, as well as all the wines and viands, come in for poetic tributes, and the princes, who supplied the exquisite

[1] Strauss, pp. 229–230.

[2] We shall come back to him later in the description of court and prince life.

[3] See above, p. 293.

wines, are pronounced worthy of undying fame in the after-world.

For Frischlin this description of the festivities had important results. He was not only richly remunerated by the Duke, but he was also provided with a letter of recommendation to the Emperor Maximilian II. To the latter, at the Ratisbon Diet in 1576, Frischlin dedicated his comedy 'Rebecca,' and after the death of Maximilian he received from his successor Rudolf II the dignity of a crowned poet, with a coat of arms and a girdle. He now forthwith wrote his 'Panegyrics on the Austrian Emperor,' and was rewarded by Rudolf II, in 1577, with the title of Imperial Count Palatine.[1] As such he had numerous associates of his own standing, but only very few of them were so stuck up by the 'rights and privileges,' real or nominal, connected with the dignity of Count Palatine as was Frischlin, and it was not without reason that Duke Louis said later on of his favourite, 'The Count Palatine ruined him.'[2] In the imperial charter made out for Frischlin the only 'right' mentioned was the right, as Count Palatine, 'within the whole circuit of the Roman empire to appoint notaries, and give them authority to draw up valid deeds of every kind.' Frischlin, however, arrogated to himself the further right of naming magisters, letting out coats of arms, and raising the poets crowned by him to the nobility. A pastor in the Kraichgau who claimed that he had received nobility from Frischlin was sent to gaol for eight days by his patron, Ludwig von Hirschhorn. A town scribe of Herrenberg had to pay the 'Count

[1] Strauss, pp. 80–98. [2] *Ibid.* p. 416.

Palatine' Frischlin nine *philippstaler* for a letter of nobility.

At the university the imperial dignities involved Frischlin in all sorts of odium. As Count Palatine he maintained that he was entitled to a place beside the rector at public functions; but once when he seated himself above the dean of the college of philosophers an order came from the senate that he was always to sit below this college. How he fared in general in intercourse with his colleagues is shown by his own words spoken at a debate practice: 'These people think they offend me when they do not invite me to their meals and drinking bouts, which they hold at the public expense. I comfort myself, however, with the dictum of Horace, that it is incomparably more dignified to sit on the high horse and feed at the princely table.'

As he was persistently refused promotion to the rank of regular professor, he bethought him, in 1579, of undertaking a professorship at the Catholic university of Freiburg-in-the-Breisgau; for 'why,' said he, 'should not a Protestant be able with a clear conscience to explain poets and orators at a popish college?' 'Are we not citizens of one empire, we, the confessors of these two creeds; there is still good fellowship between us, and by the same studies we are bound together in a holy spiritual union.' He had forgotten in what manner he had explained Virgil at Tübingen,[1] and as to the fellowship between Catholics and Protestants, and the 'sacred spiritual union,' he gave strange proofs of the existence of these in Lent of the following year, in a comedy entitled 'Phasma,' which he composed for

[1] See above, p. 250.

Duke Louis, and had performed at Tübingen before princes and lords, and in which he relegated to the devil the representatives of all creeds except the Lutheran.[1]

The migration to Freiburg fell through owing to his wife's decided refusal to live with him in a Catholic town, and to the serious objections of the Stuttgart theologians and Church councillors, who did not consider it advisable 'to let him go, as this could only be done with detriment to the school at Tübingen, and because it was to be feared that when there he would very likely write an indiscreet epigram, whence disturbance and complaints might arise.'

So Frischlin, who had already taken public leave of his pupils, went back to his lecturing. But he soon found himself in danger of life because, in 1580, he had published a Latin dialogue, 'Vom Bauernleben oder Bauernstand,' in which he praised up the piety and justice of the peasants in contrast to the godlessness, inhumanity, and treacherousness of so many of the nobles.

In his description of the ducal marriage festivities of 1575, he had lavished the highest praise on the noble guests, had taken part early and late in the banquets of lords and nobles as a jovial drinker and merry-maker, but had soon got into personal quarrels with several of them; and now, in consequence of his Dialogue, he was accused of bitter enmity towards the nobility. On one occasion a party of drunken nobles attempted to storm his house; assassins were even sent in search of him. 'The Cyclops, the haughty ruffians,' he said, in 1581, 'were distressed that I should have said in

[1] See our remarks, vol. xii. p. 110 ff.

my oration that there were very few pious nobles. These arrogant fellows pretend to be such good Christians, such good Lutherans; well then, let them read the works of Luther, where they will find what he writes about them, and that he enjoins on us that we should tell them what fine fellows they are. But because I have done this, and because it has not pleased them, they want to take my life, just as did a dare-devil, infamous, perfidious rascal, who said to me lately at Heidelberg, that if I met him he would send a bullet through me.' He then told the students what attempts had already been made on his life, and called upon them to protect him against 'the desperate rogues and villains,' on account of whom 'he himself, here in the town, was not sure of his life and person.' Thenceforth he made a practice of always carrying two pistols under his mantle, even when he only went into the garden.

In former years he had been pleased to see in Polyphemus a type of the Pope, and now he himself, in a Latin pasquil, was compared with this monster, and in a German lampoon, which was sent from Stuttgart to Tübingen, he was called a 'stinking, mangy poet,' a 'lying, roguish abortion of the devil.' If he had said of the nobles that 'they bind themselves together like the links of a chain, and that none swerves from the other in time of danger,' 'this was—oh, God, have pity!—a falsehood; would God it were, indeed, as you have written, and then you lewd fellows would not make many more *carmina*, or poems, but would soon have a rapier plunged in your heart; which, however, if God wills, will shortly happen by the hand of a virtuous, valiant, joyous hero.' Moreover, as a rule, 'as everybody knows,' a 'poet in German is called a fabricator

and a liar'; the German princes ought to root out and exterminate all the lot of them, with the exception of a few honourable and learned ones, as sedition-mongers and devil's children'; for there is no other way of escape from their treacherousness.

In a book of the nobility ('Adelsbuch'), published in 1581 by the Saxon theologian, Mark Wagner, and to which the Magdeburg Cathedral preacher, Siegfried Sack, doctor of theology, wrote a preface, Frischlin was described as an agitator, a second Thomas Münzer. This Wagner, Frischlin answered, was 'a vagabond rascal who had tramped about for thirty years, who deserved hanging for church robbery, and also for cutting leaves out of old books in convents when he was in Scotland, and who had only been saved from the gallows by kind intercession.' Between Frischlin and Wagner there arose a pen-and-ink fight, in which the combatants let fly at each other with the choicest terms of abusive language, and condemned each other to the gallows and the rack. The cathedral preacher, too, received his share from Frischlin in an 'Abfertigung der Vorred des thummen und dollen lutherischen Predigers im Stift zu Magdeburg, genannt Seyfritz oder Sewförz Sack, mit einem Wort Sewsack' ('A Reply to the Preface of the Stupid and Dull Lutheran Preacher in the Cathedral at Magdeburg named Seyfriz, or Sewförz Sack [drunkard], or in one word, Sewsack' (bagpipe). An 'Echo' of Marx Wagner and Seyfried Sackpfeifer in this answer, begins with the lines:

Sie sind zwei lutherische Pfaffen—Affen.
Was macht sie also hart vermessen ?—Essen.[1]

[1] The 'Echo' cannot be reproduced in translation, but the meaning is:

They are two Lutheran parsons—monkeys.
What makes them thus so very daring ?—eating.

This 'Echo' brought much hostility on the poet later on from Lutheran preachers.

At Tübingen he could no longer stay. 'It is known to all the world,' he wrote to Duke Louis, 'that I, my wife and my children, are most lamentably hated and envied, and that we are consequently in such danger as was never heard of before.' He begged for his discharge, received it, and in June 1582 migrated to Laibach, in Carniola, where he undertook the rectorate of the Protestant school. He was a capital teacher, and he got the school up very quickly. The knights, however, of the three circles of Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhinestream, together with Wetterau, whose complaints against Frischlin had been rejected by Duke Louis, insisted that the Carniolan Estates should not only expel him from their country on account of his abuse of the nobility, but also see that justice was properly carried out, or else they (the knights) would have to appeal to the Emperor. As other unpleasantnesses also arose at Laibach, Frischlin returned to Tübingen in August 1584.

While at Laibach he had written a Latin grammar, which secured him an honourable place in the history of learning. Also, a Latin-German and Greek Lexicon,[1] arranged according to subjects, belongs, as far as we know, to the period of his residence at Laibach. In order to obtain a post at the academy at Strassburg, where he had prepared a collected edition of his Latin dramas, he dedicated to the council and the scholars one of these plays, the 'Julius Redivivus,'[2] in which he had lavished the highest encomiums on the town. His epic poem in Latin, 'Von der Geburt Christi,'

[1] *Nomenclator trilinguis.* [2] See above, Section V. p. 176.

1300 verses in length, was performed publicly at the academy; however, he did not obtain the wished-for post, in spite of the recommendation of John Sturm, who was generous enough not to pay Frischlin out for having formerly combated him fiercely in a theological battle over the Lord's Supper.

At Tübingen they would not receive Frischlin again as a teacher; he was even, 'for known and weighty reasons,' which, however, were not more fully designated, refused academic citizenship. This refusal was all the more galling to the former professor of the university as it put him on a par with a son of the theological professor, James Heerbrand, who had been excluded from the university on account of his marriage with the rich but ill-famed widow of a man who, according to Frischlin's description, was a 'barefaced scoundrel and a hang-dog thief.' Luckily for Frischlin he was again able to appear as Württemberg court-poet, on the occasion of the second marriage of Duke Ludwig, in 1585, which he celebrated in four books of 105 pages. When the Duke on a hunting expedition killed a bear, the poet was commissioned to celebrate this event in an appropriate manner. His very extensive collection of poems shows how everything was turned to account by his muse; in his productions we find, among other things, long descriptions of the Tübingen abbey and the Württemberg convents, numerous nuptial poems for people of both high and low degree, congratulatory verses for all sorts of 'doctor promotions,' funeral poems on emperors and kings, and even verses on the Tübingen night-watchmen.

'As, however,' so he complained to his reigning prince, 'the world had no gratitude for the cultivators

of the fine arts, he thought of giving up these studies and devoting himself to medicine, as Toxites had done in his time. 'For my children it would have been far better,' he wrote to a patron, 'if I had burnt all my poems twenty years ago, and devoted myself to the study of jurisprudence or medicine; I should have escaped much unpleasantness, and should have attained to high and distinguished posts, to my great and high profit.' He did actually 'begin the study of medicine in 1585, and would not desist from it until he had completed his course.'

Meanwhile, however, the authorities at Strassburg, interested themselves eagerly to obtain for him again a professorship which he had held there formerly. In order to prevent this his enemies, prominent among whom were the chancellor of the university, James Andreä, and the professor Martin Crusius, brought against him the double charge of adultery and manslaughter. Crusius had accused his wife of infidelity, and had been attacked by Frischlin with stinging epigrams, accusing him (Crusius) of having 'beaten two wives to death, one after the other'; Crusius now revenged himself by stating before the senate that 'Professor Sackerwitz had been dismissed because he had drunk till he was tipsy, and had thrown his books out of the window; Frischlin had ruined one girl, and poisoned another, insulted the nobility, vexed the professors *mirifice*, and was he now to be received as professor?'

Whilst the proceedings against him for conjugal infidelity and manslaughter were still going on, Frischlin fled to Frankfort-on-the-Main (1586), whence he circulated 'far and wide a libellous pamphlet' against the

university, in which, so the chancellor Andreä wrote to Stuttgart, 'he attacked nearly all the most distinguished professors, and also their wives and children.'

The poet of the lampoon incurred the fate of banishment. Joyfully Crusius inscribed in his diary: 'Frischlin and family turned out of Tübingen by God, Sunday, April 23, 1587.'

But now Frischlin inaugurated from the distance a tremendous 'grammatical war' with Crusius and his followers; on both sides there was an exchange of pamphlets, which for their torrents of personal vilification are highly illustrative of the manner in which vexed questions on learned matters were fought out in those days. Frischlin says that Crusius 'understands less of philosophy than a slaughtered pig; he is a mouldy old man, a perjured villain, a sink of Satan,' and so on. On the other hand Frischlin, according to Crusius, 'is a new Catilina, a very Clodius.' One of the pamphlets of Crusius contains three pages of general matter and ninety of personalities, the materials for which had been chiefly supplied by a runaway *famulus* of Frischlin.

Meanwhile Frischlin found himself again in search of a new situation. Having vainly striven to obtain one at Marburg, he tried in turn Erfurt, Schulpforta, Leipzig, Grimma, Dresden, till finally he was able to write to a friend from Prague, in April 1587, as 'imperial-royal Bohemian historian and librarian,' that the Emperor had accorded him protection and favour, and that he had entirely pledged himself to his Majesty and was ready to lay down his life for him. 'Long live the Emperor! May the House of Austria live, flourish, and increase! England may carry off Matthias.

Poland may take Ernest, the haughty Archdukes!' To distinguished patrons at the imperial court he dedicated his works on Aristophanes and Persius.

As he now meant 'to remain an Austrian for ever,' he made his wife and family come from Tübingen to Prague; but after a few months he was again on the tramp. He went first to Wittenberg, and thence, at the beginning of September 1587, to Tübingen; he bought himself, for 300 florins, a house, he said, 'with four rooms, two wine-cellars, and a nice little garden: he expected to live and die in Wittenberg.' While looking out for a public post, he offered himself as private teacher at the university, and at his opening lecture before a brilliant assemblage of princes, counts, barons, and university officials he made a speech on rhetorical and poetical exercises. He had this speech printed at once, and because, having 'many enemies,' it was necessary that he should have 'also many patrons,' he dedicated it to eleven princes, counts, and nobles of different countries. In February 1588, on the occasion of a university festival, he recited an epic poem on the last five Saxon Dukes and Electors, but the hoped-for patrons were not found by him in Wittenberg. The very next month, with rancour in his heart, he took his departure for the town of Brunswick, where he entered St. Martin's school as rector.[1]

Industrious as ever, he here compiled various school books, and also made a few translations from Greek poets, and a small Greek epos on the birth of Christ. These works do not appear to have met with a friendly reception from the council, for Frischlin complained that the majority of the councillors were less able to

[1] See above, p. 37.

judge of his writings than 'slaughtered pigs, strangled dogs, and skinned donkeys.'

When he gave expression to this sentiment he was again a wandering school-man. He had become involved in theological quarrels at Brunswick, and had vented his feelings violently in German rhymes against the Wittenberg theologians, especially against Melanchthon. In his opening speech at Wittenberg he had lavished great praise on Melanchthon's rhetoric, but Melanchthon's friends had not forgotten that once, in former years, when comparing his own grammar with that of Melanchthon, he had written: 'I do not doubt but that in a few years my *Grammatika* will completely snuff out Philip's foolery.' Now he called Melanchthon a 'Mameluke,' who apostatised from Luther, and 'attached himself to Zwingli's rabble':

> Alas! it everywhere is known
> That Wittenberg has Zwinglian grown,
> Following apostate Philip's lead. . . .

The true doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he said, was no longer tolerated in Saxony. For this statement he was roundly abused in Latin distichs by the Wittenberg doctor, John Major, whom he had formerly counted among the best Latin poets of the time, and declared worthy of the gallows and the rack; Frischlin did not remain in debt to his adversary as regards personal insults.

At Brunswick he was in danger of being arrested and receiving bodily punishment for his lampoon against the Wittenbergers, and it was only by hurried flight, in October 1589, that he escaped imprisonment.

At Helmstädt, whither he now betook himself, he was hospitably received by Duke Henry Julius, of

Brunswick, and presented with fifty thalers for a Latin elegy. After eight days, however, he was dismissed. He then took up his abode in Marburg, but was soon turned out with his numerous family—his sixteenth child had just been born dead—and he was again a wanderer, often in poverty and wretchedness. Sanguine as ever, however, he now meant to set up a printing press at Ursel, in the Taunus; then he thought of starting a salt-boiling establishment at Magdeburg with some of his associates. He now styled himself, moreover, 'Doctor of Medicine.'

Meanwhile his friends at Württemberg hoped that he would be restored to favour with the Duke, and that after the death of James Andreä he might easily obtain the office of chancellor of the university of Tübingen. All hopes, however, were shipwrecked, because Frischlin, who was quite incapable of bridling his 'uncontrollable genius,' sent in a pamphlet to the ducal chancellery, which might truthfully be described to the reigning prince as a libel. Duke Louis, whom the poet had so often honoured in all sorts of festival songs, and whom he had delighted with his comedies, and who on his side had formerly shown the 'poet' so much favour and kindness, issued an order, in March 1590, that anyone who met him was entitled to 'knock him down' and demand his arrest. Frischlin was taken up in Mayence and placed in the fortress of Hohen-Urach. At the end of November 1590 he met his death in an attempt to escape.

Admiration is due to the vigour of spirit and the indefatigable activity which the unhappy man exhibited, even during his hard captivity. Within less than four months, cooped up in a narrow, dark cell,

swarming with vermin, and frequently ill, he not only wrote some fifty letters and several lengthy petitions, but also, besides many smaller works, two Biblical comedies in German and a Latin epos, the 'Hebrais,' containing more than 12,500 hexameters, in which he dealt with the history of the Israelitish kings.

He had made repeated attempts to become reconciled with his deadly enemy, Martin Crusius, but the envy, the hatred, and the revengeful spirit of this man made it impossible; these feelings still governed him even after Frischlin's death. 'A mad dog,' wrote Crusius, 'is stoned. This slanderous dog God has stoned. But the stones fall on the dog; here the dog has fallen on the stones, *i.e.* the rocks. The dog is stoned by others; here the dog has stoned himself.' Crusius also sang the downfall of his adversary in Latin verses:

> He who from high would leap
> Fell heavily and deep;
> In hell's dark keep
> I fear he now must sleep.[1]

All the unedifying scenes which stand out in the lives of the above three poets, school-men, and scholars, and which give an insight into the period—above all, into the second half of the sixteenth century—are materially supplemented by the evidence of numberless persons of their own standing, who speak in the bitterest language of the continuous decay of all high morals and fine culture, of the absence of any love of learning among the young, of the increasing depreciation of classical knowledge, and of learning in general.

[1] All further details are given in Strauss, where (pp. 584–585) there is also more detailed information concerning the prose and poetry writings of Frischlin discussed in the biography.

So spoke, for instance, the theologian George Major, in 1564. Looking back, he says, in his old age to the days of his youth he is filled with inexpressible sorrow. In place of the glowing zeal, the unhalting onward striving in the paths of learning, which was seen in 'those dark times of the Papacy,' there was now, 'under the sunshine of the newly risen light,' such indolence and negligence as regards intellectual culture that he was fain to give up all hope for the future: barbarism was at the door.' [1]

'Nowadays,' said the Bremen scholar, Henry Knaust, in 1563, 'art, learning, and science are seen running after daily bread, and they find it a hard matter to overtake and get hold of it; they make themselves so contemptible, moreover, for the sake of food, clothing, and money that they are looked upon as nothing more than beggars, whereas in the days of our forefathers they were never treated with such scorn and contumely. But everything is tending to decay and ruin in these last parlous times.' [2]

In a similar strain wrote Abraham Sawr, of Frankenberg, in 1590. 'The state of things is lamentable; art runs after bread, but, as it would seem, "bread will again run after art," as the old saw says. People are all so sick of the fine arts that everybody turns from them with loathing, and grumbles like the Israelites at the manna.' [3]

Matthew Dresser, professor at Leipzig since 1581, lamented the great difference between the present and

[1] Döllinger, ii. 170–171.

[2] H. Knaust, *Vom heimlichen Winkelschmähen*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1563, pp. 4, 7. ** Cf. H. Michel, *H. Knaust*, Berlin, 1903.

[3] *Rhetorica*, preface, note 6.

the past as regards love of the study of Greek;[1] while Eusebius Menius, professor of mathematics at Greifswald, and afterwards professor at Wittenberg, grieved over the growing contempt for mathematics and physics. He was filled with depression, he wrote in 1562, whenever he compared the idleness of his own times with the zeal for learning which had prevailed in the past century. In those days it would have been a matter of shame to the least cultivated persons not to have been skilled in mathematics and physics; now, however, he could not ignore the fact that these sciences had fallen into utter contempt, and that among so large a number of students only a few knew nowadays that with which formerly mere boys were familiar.[2]

Concerning the contempt for learning in general, Caspar Hofmann, professor of philosophy and medicine at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, said, in 1578, in a public speech: 'All right-minded persons observe with distress that the academies are approaching complete downfall, and that as regards position, tuition, and morals, they are quite different from what they were formerly. Once the towns deemed it the highest honour to possess flourishing academies and well-appointed schools; now the stupid populace are better pleased when the schools and colleges stand empty than when they are filled. Formerly the great people had such love for learning that they not only erected splendid academies, and endowed them richly with rights, privileges, and revenues, but also supplied them with highly paid teachers, distinguished in their several branches of learning. Now, however, it has come to pass that the pursuit of literature and learning is looked on with

[1] Döllinger, ii. 610–612. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 609.

contempt; with high and low the name of "scholar" is well-nigh hated, and well-earned scholarly honours are almost a disgrace in the eyes of those who only delight in the tumult of the chase. Under such circumstances it is not a matter for surprise that scholars and men of learning are so disheartened and cast down that they have drifted into being mere day-labourers and wage-earners, and that they resort to every possible means, even to ignoble ones, for averting starvation.' [1]

Five months before Andrew Musculus, professor of theology at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, had published a speech of similar contents on the barbaric contempt of literature and the liberal arts.[2]

The Hessian superintendent, George Nigrinus, pointed out, in 1574, that 'Nowadays it is thought that nobody ought to study, except the poorest and the most ignoble. Those who are able to study and to provide for study will not do it; they give themselves up to idle pleasure and useless, injurious practices, which befit neither the nobility nor wise people, such as drinking, gambling, usury, and so forth.' [3]

'Men who had taken a doctor's degree,' said the Saxon theologian, Polycarp Leiser, in 1605, 'after long years of experience, were formerly placed at once in posts at the Courts of the nobles. In our times, however, the learned class is despised by the nobility, and must submit to being called their blackfish and ink-eaters.' [4]

The leading school-men and philologists complained

[1] See our remarks above, p. 296.

[2] *De barbarico literarum et artium liberalium contemtu* (1573). Cf. Döllinger, ii. 412, note.

[3] G. Nigrinus, *Daniel*, p. 19.

[4] Tholuck, *Geist der Theologen Wittenbergs*, p. 72.

most bitterly to each other in private letters of the intellectual and moral barbarism which had set in. Thus, for instance, John Caselius,[1] in spite of all his learning and the great services he had rendered, died, in 1613, 'actually in hunger and wretchedness.'[2] His only comfort had been that the best men among his contemporaries had given him their sympathy, and had declared his complaints to be well grounded. The great Joseph Scaliger wrote to him from Leyden, in 1603: 'We have reached the high-water mark of barbarism; it cannot go further; it has reached the flood-tide. Only a few are left whom better influences have nurtured, of whom some have still some taste for higher study, others, in addition to the taste, the practical qualifications.

'If among many scholars I find little discretion, this is especially the case with your Germans. Among these it is always the most ignorant and the least refined who are most ready to slander and abuse. How many monstrous German publications does not the Frankfort fair bring to light every year! Who in all the rest of Europe has ever seen a larger collection of more impudent books from incapable heads than those volumes, partly German, partly Latin, but all of them fabricated by German Furies! Who is there so depraved as to waste his time in reading them? And yet learning and science are so entirely in bondage to the ravings and ragings of these men that one would think they were only invented for their unholy purposes.'[3]

[1] Cf. Henke, *Calixtus*, i. 96; ** see also Bender, p. 39 f.

[2] Lisch, *Jahrbücher*, xix. 35.

[3] 'Ad fastigium barbariei pervenimus; non habet quo ulterius progressum faciat; jam stat in praecipiti. Pauculi supersunt, quos melior natura formavit, ex quibus alii sensum bonarum literarum, alii sensum

The serious damage which culture and learning suffered from the rude religious dissensions, and the moral deterioration connected with the latter, was not one of the least factors in damping the early enthusiasm of many leading humanists and philologists for the new learning.

First among those so influenced was the large-hearted promoter of learning in general, Willibald Pirkheimer, himself an accomplished Greek scholar and Roman antiquary, and also an historian of importance.[1] The humanist, Crotus Rubianus, chief among the authors of the 'Letters of Obscure Men,' had stood out since 1530 as a decided champion of the old Church.[2] So, too, had the Strassburger, Otmar Nachtigall, styled Luscinius, a distinguished Greek investigator. Luscinius kept up a brisk intercourse at Freiburg in the Breisgau with Henry Loriti Glareanus, who before had been the close friend of Zwingli and Oecolampadius, but had turned more and more from the new learning after 1524, and after 1529 had displayed versatile activity as professor of poetry at Freiburg. He died in 1563. He occupied himself chiefly

et usum habent.' 'Modestiam ego quum in multis qui literas colunt, tum in vestris praecipue Germanis requiro; apud quos nulla magis ad maledicendum parata sunt ingenia quam quae maxime horrida sunt et agrestia. Quot Teutonicorum scriptorum portenta nundinae Francofurtenses producunt! Quis in reliqua Europa aut plura vidit, aut petulantiora impotentium animorum argumenta, quam sunt illa lemmata librorum, partim Germanico sermone, partim Latino, sed a Germanis Furiis concepta! Quis tam perditus, ut legendis illis bonas horas perdere postulet! Et literae tamen furoribus et debacchationibus horum ancillantur, ut non ad aliud quam ad impura horum hominum ministeria natae esse videantur.' Henke, *Calixtus*, i. 217, note 1.

[1] See our remarks, vol. i. p. 145 ff. and vol. iv. pp. 62 ff. and 76 ff.

[2] See our remarks concerning him, vol. iii. pp. 63 f., 68 f., 113 f., 135 f.

with Livy, but he also expounded a considerable number of other Roman classics.[1]

John Reuchlin, one of the first standard-bearers of Greek and Hebrew study in Germany, had, immediately after Luther's advent, adopted a loyal Church position, and had spoken out so decidedly against Luther that his once ideal hero, Ulrich von Hutten, threatened him with hostility.[2] With an extraordinarily numerous attendance of students, Reuchlin, as professor of Greek and Hebrew, held Hebrew lectures at Ingoldstadt and Tübingen, and compiled editions of some of the writings of Xenophon, of the orations of Aeschines against Ctesiphon, and of Demosthenes' 'Oration on the Crown' († 1522).

In the study of archaeology, Conrad Peutinger, of Augsburg, had been the chief pioneer.[3] With his researches were bound up those of the Mayence humanist, John Huttich,[4] who died, in 1544, as coadjutor bishop of the cathedral at Strassburg, and of the provost, John Choler, at Augsburg. Raimund Fugger, who in 1530 was raised to the dignity of count, was also, like

[1] ** Concerning Luscinius see Schmidt, *Hist. litt. de l'Alsace*, ii. 174–208; Geiger in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, xix. 455 ff. See also Lier's article in the *Archiv für Literaturgesch.* xi. 1 ff., where a very excellent comparison is drawn between the *Facetiae* of Bebel and those of Luscinius; and finally the 'Beiträge zu Lebensbildern O. Nachtigalls,' by Dr. A. Schröder, in the *Hist. Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1893. From the Augsburg archives important new data are given here, and the religious position of Nachtigall is minutely scrutinised. With regard to Glareanus, see Schreiber, *Biographische Mitteilungen über Heinrich Loriti Glareanus*, Freiburg, 1827; Räss, *Konvertiten*, i. 191 ff., and O. F. Fritzsche, *Glarean. Sein Leben u. seine Schriften*, Frauenfeld, 1890; cf. also Geiger in the *Zeitschr. für vergleichende Literaturgesch.* N.F. iii. 395 f.

[2] See our remarks, vol. iii. pp. 109 ff.

[3] See our remarks, vol. i. p. 148 ff.

[4] ** Cf. Falk in the *Catholik*, 1888, ii. 418–432.

Peutinger, a collector of ancient inscriptions and monuments. Mark Welser, councillor, later town warden at Augsburg († 1614), was one of the most zealous patrons and promoters of classical and historical study, and also the author of a large number of learned works. At Rome he had devoted himself to the exploration of Roman antiquities, had incited the Protestant philologist, Janus Gruter, to make a comprehensive collection of Latin and Greek inscriptions, and had assisted him in this work; later on he became famous for the copies he made from the collections of inscriptions in Italian libraries. In combination with his three brothers, Antony, Matthew, and Paul, and a few other well-to-do patrons of learning, Welser achieved the foundation of a large private printing press, and appointed a committee of Protestant and Catholic scholars to decide on the selection of writings to be published; among the members of this committee was Welser's intimate friend, the Jesuit, James Pontanus. From this printing press there issued, in the years 1595–1614, among other philological works, the editions of the later Greek authors compiled by the Protestant David Hoeschel.[1]

On the neutral ground of classical and antiquarian study, Catholic and Protestant, German and Italian scholars met freely, so that the development of humanist realistic knowledge cannot be ascribed to Protestant influences only.

One of the most eminent philologists was Beatus Rhenanus, who was born in 1485 at Schlettstadt, and instructed in Greek by the learned Dominican, John Conon, at Basle. Indefatigably this industrious

[1] Bursian, pp. 236–238, 272–273; Kapp, pp. 134–135.

man explored the libraries in order to verify the new editions of old authors by the text of extant manuscripts, and in his judgment pronounced on the latter exhibited sound and sincere criticism. Remote from the demoralised practices of the time, he worked at Basle as a peaceable scholar till 1527, and afterwards in his native town of Schlettstadt. At first Beatus Rhenanus had welcomed Luther's undertaking with joy; but after the Peasant War a strong reaction in his feelings had set in, and thenceforth till his death, in 1547, he maintained a middle position between the old and the new Churches.[1] As the fruits of his labours he left behind

[1] ** Concerning Beatus Rhenanus's life, literary activity, and library see above all the papers by Horawitz in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Philos. Kl. lxx. 189 ff.; lxxi. 643 ff.; lxxii. 323 ff. and lxxviii. 313 ff. Rhenanus is blamed here for having withdrawn from the cause of the religious innovation and become a 'suspicious, timid reactionary.' In opposition to Horawitz, Hartfelder (*Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, compiled and published by Horawitz and Hartfelder, Leipzig, 1836) concludes from the fact that Bucer also stood by the deathbed of Rhenanus that Rhenanus undoubtedly belonged to the Protestant party. That this opinion is untenable is shown by J. Schmid in the *Histor. Jahrbuch der Görres Gesellschaft*, xi. 737–742; see also Erichson in Brieger's *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.* xii. 211 ff. Schmid conjectures (*l.c.* p. 741) that Rhenanus belonged to the so-called 'expectant' (see Pastor, *Die kirchlichen Reunionsbestrebungen*, p. 115 ff). Paulus (*Hoffmeister*, p. 96) rightly includes Rhenanus among the men of the 'Middle Party.' What influenced Rhenanus to turn round was, above all, the evil effect of the new teaching on morality and culture. His complaints fully accord with those of his friends Wizel and Gabriel Hummelberger. The first of these predicted that Europe would become Mohammedan, that Germany would soon be extinguished. Hummelberger also, in a very remarkable letter of 1531, prophesied the complete ruin of Germany: 'Demum de Germania nostra quid sperandum putas? Ego certe nihil aliud augurari possum, quam miserandam sui ipsius ruinam. . . .' Every kingdom divided against itself must fall; on account of our sins ruin marches towards us, if slowly, still surely. May God have pity on us! 'Res Germaniae,' he then goes on, 'auguste componi poterant, sed nihil actum est. Forte peccata nostra nil aliud meruerunt. Romanistas Germanorum abusos simplicitate nemo bonus negabit. Sed Lutheranismo quid aliud etiam actum est, nisi ut omnia ruent?

him admirably improved editions and expositions of several classical writers, as well as a work of first rank on German history.[1]

To the most prominent Latinists at the close of the sixteenth century belonged the convert John Wilms, styled Janus Gulielmus, born at Lübeck in 1555, a student at Rostock in 1575, and the next year already known through the publication of some learned works. In 1579 he returned to the bosom of the old Church, at Cologne. In Paris he enjoyed the society of the most distinguished French scholars, and published, in 1583, his most mature work, a commentary on Plautus. His extensive studies on his favourite author, Cicero, were first published by Janus Gruter after his death in 1584.[2]

It was not an altogether blameless reputation that was left by Caspar Schoppe, of the Upper Palatine (born at Neumarkt in 1576), who, in 1598, embraced the Catholic faith at Prague, and in the years 1607–1613 was entrusted with diplomatic commissions by Pope Paul V, and also by Archduke Ferdinand of Styria. He was a man very well read in ancient literature, an acute critic and skilful stylist, but he was fulfilled with an uncontrollable love of controversy, which manifested itself first against his earlier co-religionists, and in the last years of his life († 1649) was directed also against the Jesuits. In order to bring his personality, as well as his change of creed, and his anti-Protestant polemics into ill-repute, Melchior

Dei timor, proximi amor et quod merito dolendum est, omnium bonarum literarum evanescit disciplina, et nemo nunc amplius liberos suos bonis literis erudire studet.' Horawitz, *l.c.* lxxviii. 336. For the biography and bibliography of Beatus Rhenanus the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1885, Jahrg. 2, Heft 7, should also be compared.

[1] Bursian, pp. 150–152. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 240–242.

Goldast, in 1606, published an extremely foul work which Schoppe had produced while still a Protestant student. That early period, not the later years of the convert's life, is to blame for this production.[1]

The convert Martin Eisengrein, vice-chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, gained great honour by his services in connexion with the library. He not only bequeathed to it his own rich collection of books, but it was at his instigation that similar bequests were made by the chancellor, Simon Eck, in 1574, by Professor Clenck in 1577, and, before this, by the Würzburg canon and, later, Augsburg bishop, John Egolph, of Knöringen († 1575). The latter had acquired the library of Glareanus, and during repeated travels through Germany, Belgium, and Italy, he had so greatly increased his collection of books and manuscripts that they amounted in the end to 6062 volumes. He also bequeathed to the Ingolstadt library his collection of coins and his 'art museum,' and erected a building in which to place them.[2]

[1] Bursian, pp. 282–286; cf. concerning Schoppe (Scioppius) our remarks, vol. v. p. 201.

[2] Prantl, i. 344–346. ** A man who knew as did few beside him how to value a good library was Peter Canisius, the first Provincial of the German Jesuits. One of the oldest catalogues in his handwriting which are still extant is a library catalogue of the small, scarcely one-year-old Jesuit settlement at Cologne. Immediately on the foundation of the colleges of Ingolstadt and Prague he took care that they should be supplied with books. In an inspectoral report which he sent to Rome as Provincial, he said in praise of the rector of the Munich College: 'He has provided his institution with an excellent collection of books.' The Ingolstadt Jesuits, on the other hand, received orders from Canisius in 1562 to draw up a catalogue of philosophical and literary works which were to be bought at the Frankfort book fair for the college; 'for in my opinion,' he said reproachfully, 'you are behind other colleges in this respect' (*Canisii Epistulae*, i. 579, 614, 671, 903–904; ii. 10, 11; iii. 206, 576, 721). Canisius, however, devoted most special attention to the

John Egolph, of Knöringen, was a particularly generous patron and encourager of linguistic, historical, and antiquarian researches. He belongs to the few humanists who also devoted their energies to the study of the mother-tongue and of the older German literature. The Franconian, Lorenz Albert, a convert, and the publisher of the first actual German grammar, eulogised him as its 'Princeps und Autor' in a seventeen-page-long tribute of September 20, 1572. The convert John Engerd, from Thuringia, the first German prosodist, professor of poetry, for a time dean of the University of Ingoldstadt, also celebrated Albert's fame as 'universal patron of learning and art.' [1]

Innumerable poems were circulated throughout the land from Ingoldstadt, for there, as in the capital, Munich, under Duke Albert V, the founder of the splendid library, of the art museum, and of the cabinet of coins, there was lively poetic activity among the humanists.

library of the Innsbruck Jesuits. He had already sent to this college from Augsburg, to the account of the Emperor Ferdinand I, books to the value of 140 florins; he had also, again at the Emperor's expense, selected for it a number of books, among them especially some Hebrew works and some writings of Italian humanists, from the collection of Peter Kirchpuchler, a pupil of Reuchlin; and now he further sent the Innsbruck authorities a long list of writings which he wished them to procure for the college from Frankfort. Among a number of commentaries on Aristotle, old and new, this list also included mathematical, physical, astronomical, and archaeological works; Protestant names appeared also among the authors, such as the Swiss Zwinglian, James Wiesendanger, and the Strassburg Calvinist, John Sturm (*Ibid.* iii. 702, 710–711, 712–714).

[1] 'John Egolph of Knöringen, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens Bayerns im 16. Jahrhundert,' in the *Beilage zur Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1883, No. 240 f.; cf. Orterer in the *Histor. Jahrb. der Görres-Gesellschaft*, vii. 89 ff.; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, lvi. (1899) 238 ff., and *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, cxx. (1897) 745 f.

Most of the Duke's councillors were men of humanistic culture and themselves the authors of all sorts of elegant Latin verses, which, as regards wealth of ideas, were neither superior nor inferior to those of the Protestant poets.

A man of pre-eminent poetic endowment was the jurist, John Aurpach, of Niederaltaich, who lived for some time in Ingoldstadt and Munich, and went to Ratisbon in 1565, where later on he became episcopal chancellor. He published jovial songs, pointed satires, epigrams, and odes, which last were translated into German in 1584 by John Engerd.[1] The Munich poet, Christopher Bruno, developed the German language by translations and imitations of foreign works, and in 1545 prepared an edition of Curtius which deserves special notice. It is to the town magistrate, Simon Felix Schaidenreisser, the subject of so much glorification from the humanists, that the first German translation of the 'Odyssey' is due. The elegies and epigrams (published in 1562) of the Munich schoolmaster, George Vaigel, a fine Latinist, who took as model Martin Balticus, a Protestant poet of very

[1] 'Readers of Aurpach's poems have only one grievance, namely, that they are written in Latin, and it cannot but be regretted that the condition of our mother-tongue was such as to compel poetic powers as important as Aurpach's to commit their sentiments to the fetters of a foreign and a dead language. But he has had no translators. And whatever may be the verdict on the poet Engerd, it is to his lasting fame that he recognised and did honour to Aurpach's poetic depths.' K. V. Reinhardstöttner, at p. 94 of the article quoted at p. 269, note 1. George Westermayer also, in his fine article 'Joh. Aurpach, ein bayrischer Humanist' (*Histor.-polit. Blätter*, c. [1887] 489 ff.) pronounces a very favourable judgment on Aurpach's poetic capacity. 'Bavarin,' he says, 'has no poet to show in the early Renaissance period who equalled Aurpach in investing the graceful forms of the ancient poets with ideal and religious feeling.'

great importance,[1] are praised by connoisseurs on account of the many excellent ideas in them. A Latin epos, in which Vaigel celebrates the fight between Louis of Bavaria and Frederic the Beautiful of Austria, is full of warm enthusiasm for native history.

The medical doctor, Samuel von Quickeberg, was a man thoroughly versed in knowledge of antiquity, and also a learned investigator. Among other works he published, in 1565, at Munich, under the auspices of Albert V, a pamphlet entitled 'Inscriptiones,' in which he set forth in an exemplary manner the principles according to which fine-art collections should be acquired, housed, arranged, and made useful. In the preface to a book, 'Biblische Sprüche,' which came out at Cologne in 1571, Quickeberg praises his teacher, the Jesuit Father Canisius, whom he had learnt to venerate at Ingolstadt, as a master of Latin expression.[2]

Kilian Leib, prior of the convent of Rebdorf, published in 1542 a learned treatise which shows a thorough

[1] ** Concerning M. Balticus, see K. v. Reinhardstöttner, *M. Balticus, ein Humanistenleben aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, Bamberg, 1890.

[2] From the admirable article by K. von Reinhardstöttner, 'Zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Gelehrsamkeit zu München unter Albrecht V,' in the *Jahrb. für Münchener Geschichte*, iv. 45–174. 'The chief cause of the comparatively slight recognition of the rich South German literature—above all of the Bavarian Latin literature—lies in the triumphant progress of literature in Germany, and of its wholesale rejection of these poets and humanists, who belonged, most of them, to the Counter-Reformation; few of them consequently were saved from oblivion.' 'The Bavarian humanists, and the scholars called to work in Bavaria, were seldom so fortunate as to have their names handed down to posterity in encyclopaedias, which willingly accorded space in their pages to far less important men of other regions' (p. 50). 'In Bavaria the art of poetry was not cultivated only at the seats of learning; convents and parsonages concealed within their walls first-rate classical scholars as well as skilful poets. In the old Bavarian convents there was an eminently active intellectual life' (p. 107). The author quotes numerous passages in proof of this statement.

knowledge of Hebrew.[1] The great Orientalist, John Albert Widmannstadius, died in 1557 as cathedral canon at Ratisbon.[2]

Among the Latin poets of North Germany, the great astronomer Copernicus and his friend, John Dantiscus, Bishop of Ermland, deserve special notice.

Copernicus, as a pious, believing priest, sang in his 'Septem Sidera' the chief incidents in the life of Jesus, and praised the Holy Virgin as the purest among the earth-born.[3] Dantiscus, whose family name was originally Von Höfen, was born at Dantzic in 1485. He wrote numbers of poems, both secular and religious, and, as his last poetical work, had edited by his friend Cardinal Hosius, in 1458, a collection of thirty hymns, which are all distinguished by tender simplicity. The epoch-making work of Copernicus on the 'Movements of the Heavenly Bodies' was accompanied by an introductory poem from the pen of Dantiscus, who had, moreover, himself encouraged the astronomer to publish this work. Copernicus thanked him for the poem in the following words: 'I appreciate the excellence of this poem, and know for certain that it was prompted solely by the goodwill which you entertain towards those who are devoted to study.' The greatest poem of Dantiscus is dedicated 'to the noble youth Con-

[1] Von Reinhardstöttner, p. 108.

[2] See concerning him the *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, lxxxii. 513–529; also p. 739.

[3] ** The *Septem Sidera* of Copernicus was published and translated in 1857 by Hipler, *Des ermländischen Bischofs Johannes Dantiscus und seines Freundes Nikolaus Kopernikus geistliche Gedichte* (Münster, 1857), p. 552 ff. Prowe (*Kopernikus*, i. 2, 375 ff.) thinks right to question the genuineness of this poem of Copernicus; his reasons, however, will not hold water; cf. the valuable criticism of his work by Hipler in the *Literarische Rundschau*, 1884, No. 7, p. 207 f.

stantius Alliopagus'; in this he speaks with warning and admonition on the effects of the religious disturbances, and animadverts especially on the new 'Solafides' doctrine':

Trust not that creed which only in the name consists,
And the fruits of piety does not also produce:
That creed from which the masses in great part now learn
That faith alone suffices for salvation.
Always they talk of faith and of the Words of Christ,
But, devoid of works, these words are empty wind.

All salvation comes only from Christ and from faith in Him; but this faith must manifest itself in works of love:

For it is faith put in practice, not dead faith, that saves,
And through works it is we show that faith's alive.
Give to the naked clothes, take in the stranger, feed
The hungry, give him thy bread, and give to the thirsty drink;
Set the prisoners free, visit unceasing the sick,
Haste to the help of the wretched, stay by the sufferer's bed.
Love all mankind as brethren, love them unfeignedly all.[1]

Among the German Jesuits prior to Balde the school dramatist James Bidermann is the most important poet.[2]

[1] F. Hipler, *Des ermländischen Bischofs Johannes Dantiscus und seines Freundes Kopernikus geistliche Gedichte*, pp. ix. ff. 21 ff. Dantiscus repeatedly urged his old friend, Eobanus Hessus, with whom he stood in poetic rivalry, to forsake his false theological views and return to the Church. Very characteristic is an answer of Eobanus in a letter of 1531: 'I come now to that part of your letter in which you say it is not very salutary for me to remain in the midst of this tragedy. O mi Dantisce, sentio et intelligo satis, quam dicas tragoediam; sed quis me liberabit ex hac tragoedia? quis ex tragoedo comoedum me faciet? Obsequendum est, uti vides, hisce et temporibus et moribus, in quae quoniam et ego incidi, necesse est et me velut Ixionis rotae alligatum verti, circumverti rapique ac volutari, quocumque fert impetus haec omnia moderantis fati. Verum haec ad te quidem, nam super hujusmodi rebus voces hic nequaquam sunt liberae' (p. xxxviii). Thus, simply because he had become too deeply involved in the Protestant cause, was Eobanus determined to persist in it. ** Cf. Hipler, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus*, p. 9.

[2] See our remarks above, p. 203.

Bidermann was a favourite pupil of Father Matthew Rader, a Tyrolese, born at Innichen in 1561, who also composed several school dramas and gained esteem as a philological author. In 1599 Rader published an improved and expurgated edition of Martial, accompanied with explanations of the subject-matter, of which copies appeared in different towns; the life of Martial, praised by Scaliger, which Rader added to this edition, was still reprinted in the nineteenth century.[1] His version of Curtius Rufus, first published at Munich in 1615, also went through numerous editions. Rader was also the first to edit several Byzantine pamphlets.

Better known than Rader is the Jesuit James Gretser of Markdorf, in Suabia, born in 1562, and during twenty-five years teacher of philosophy and theology at Ingolstadt. The whole sum of his works on different subjects amounts to seventeen folio volumes. In 1596 he published at Ingolstadt a Latin-Greek-German lexicon. His Greek grammar, which appeared first in 1593, went through innumerable editions in Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Poland, and elsewhere; in 1757 it was again printed at Augsburg, and in 1866 at Paris. If at the present day it is old-fashioned, it is nevertheless a work which held its own against the compilations of contemporary grammarians.[2]

Another very expert Greek scholar was Father George Mayr (born 1565), of Rain in Bavaria. He translated numbers of writings into Greek; among others, in 1615, the 'Imitation of Christ,' by Thomas

[1] *Bibliotheca classica Latina*, Paris, 1835, i. xiii f. *Ibid.* p. lxxv. *Aeusserungen Scaligers und Ernestis über Rader*; cf. Bursian, p. 249.

[2] 'The grammar of Gretser,' says Ruhkopf (p. 379, note), 'is more complete and better adapted to its purpose than the Greek grammars of Golius, Melanchthon, Crusius and Weller.'

à Kempis ; this translation came out repeatedly in new editions in the following centuries. His Hebrew grammar of 1616 met with a very favourable reception, and so also did his Hebrew translation of the Catechism of Father Canisius. He also translated the New Testament into Hebrew.[1]

Among the humanist school-men of the Jesuit Order, the man who had the most brilliant success was James Pontanus, educated at the College of Prague. From the year 1582 he worked as professor of poetry and rhetoric at the newly erected gymnasium at Augsburg, and was at the same time entrusted with the management of the whole institution. His principal work is the ' Progymnasmata Latinitatis,' which was first published at Ingolstadt during the years 1588–1594, in four volumes. It consists of a series of dialogues in simple but fine Latin, which are intended on the one hand to give directions for acquiring a skilful use of the Latin language, both in conversation and writing, and on the other hand to supply the necessary practical knowledge concerning classic antiquity. The well-nigh countless editions it went through in Germany, Belgium, Holland, France, and Italy are proofs of its excellence and usefulness. In Munich it had already reached the fifteenth edition in 1620. Numerous editions in Frankfort and Leipzig show that this work found entrance also in Protestant schools. At Ratisbon, however, the ' Scholarchat ' of the Protestant gymnasium forbade the use of the ' Pontanus ' and other Jesuit books of

[1] Agricola, ii. 262 ; Alegambe, p. 157 ; cf. de Backer, ii. 1177–1182. ** and the article by Mayr, George, in Wetzer and Wette's *Kirchenlexikon*, viii. 1115–1117. See there also for Mayr's famous illustrated catechism, with more than one hundred woodcuts, which appeared in many different languages.

instruction. In the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the former was reinstated at this same institution. Pontanus's 'Poetik' [1] and his editions of Virgil and Ovid had also a wide circulation. On the other hand, his Latin translations of Byzantine authors remained, naturally, confined to a small circle of readers.[2] The Augsburg scholar Mark Welser considered Pontanus was of equal rank with a Justus Lipsius and a Joseph Scaliger.[3] 'Pontanus,' says an inscription under his portrait in the refectory of the Prague Jesuit College, 'was a wonderfully eloquent and friendly man, beloved by all, for he always put others before himself, and was full of consideration for everybody.' [4]

[1] *Poeticarum Institutionum libri tres.*

[2] The works of Pontanus, catalogued by de Backer, ii. 2075–2081, and iii. 2427; cf. Braun, *Geschichte des Jesuitenkollegs in Augsburg*, pp. 178–180; Zirngiebl, p. 292; Kleinstäuber, *Gesch. des evangelischen Gymnasii poetici*, Regensburg, 1881, p. 39, and *Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie*, 1904.

[3] Kropf, iv. 430.

[4] 'Fuit vir mire facetus, comis et carus omnibus, qui omnes prae se haberet omnesque suspiceret.' Vienna Town archives; *Geistl. Akten*, No. 419, contributed by P. B. Duhr.

CHAPTER II

STUDY OF LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE

WHILE the representatives of humanistic study and classical learning were complaining that the young had grown sick of these subjects, and that 'almost every class' looked with contempt on the pursuit of the fine arts, there had been in every direction since the middle of the fifteenth century [1] a tendency towards the study of jurisprudence, which opened up the best prospects of gain and of influence, both in high and low circles. 'In our time,' says the Leipzig professor Christopher Hegendorfinus in 1529, 'jurisprudence smiles so enticingly on all, that everybody wants to be a student of law; most young men are impelled to this study by greed of gold or ambition; with the exception of law scarcely any other study is now liked.' 'The juristical lectures,' it says in a 'Dialogue on the Study of Law,' by John Apel, published in 1540, 'are not poorly attended, because this study leads to greater wealth and distinction than does theology or medicine; it counts among its votaries nobles and commoners, patricians and plebeians, clergy and laity, boys, youths, and often

[1] ** Many of the clergy at that time gave up the study of theology and devoted themselves exclusively to the study of law, because in this way they could obtain much more lucrative posts. Cf. the 'Klagen von Nikolaus von Strassburg' (*Katholik*, 1891, p. 352); Geiler von Kaisersberg (Dacheux, *Geiler de Kaysersberg*, Paris, 1876, p. 112 f.), and Bartholomew Arnoldi von Usingen (Paulus, *Barth. Arnoldi von Usingen*, p. 84).

even forty-year-old men, some of whom are seeking fame, others wealth, others a bread-winning profession.'[1] At Heidelberg, in 1551, it was complained that jurisprudence threw all other learned studies at the university into the background.[2]

That jurisprudence, on account of the external advantages connected with it, had become the dominant subject of study at the universities, was a fact 'patent to all the world,' and all the less pleasing to numbers among the people because it led to contempt of the schools in general. 'The people are making themselves heard,' wrote the Mansfeld chancellor, George Lauterbeck, in 1564, 'by reason of the jurists. The schools are no longer of any use, except to bring up idlers, who only learn there how people wrangle together, how they can make a good cause bad and a bad cause good, how they can keep back the poor from their rights, and help the rich to what they have no right to.' 'They speak their minds freely,' Lauterbeck goes on, 'and say that things were never worse in the world, and with all governments, than since learned men, especially jurists, have been allowed to have a hand in ruling. Where-

[1] Hegendorfinus in his *Oratio de artibus*, of the year 1529: 'Ad jurisprudentiam venio, quae hoc tempore adeo omnibus arridet, ut nemo non Jurisconsultus evadere cupiat—rapit plerosque ad hujus professionis studium fames rei pecuniariae, illicit alium ad hanc professionem ambitionis sitis.' 'Non raro miratus sum, quinam fieret, quod, cum isto saeculo juventus adeo legum civilium studio ardeat, ut praeter haec studia fere adamet nulla, tamen nemo existat, qui ei certam viam monstraret.' J. Apel: 'Habent haec auditoria passim non paucos auditores, quod haec professio plus polliceatur et divitiarum et splendoris, quam vel Theologia, vel Medicina; habent nobiles, ignobiles, patricios, plebeios, sacros, profanos, adolescentes, juvenes et plerumque quadragenarios; dum alius consulit existimationi, alius divitiis, alius inediae.' Quoted in Stintzing, *Juristen böse Christen*, pp. 29–30, note 10. ** Concerning Apel, cf. Muther, pp. 230–328.

[2] Hautz, i. 423.

upon they conclude that it would be better to let the schools go to ruin than to spend so much on building and keeping them up.' [1]

Instruction in law remained, generally speaking, throughout that period on the same low level as when Reuchlin remarked: 'What charm, what dignity can there be in a branch of study which consists entirely in the explanation of single points and letters? For anyone bent on something higher and nobler than renown and riches the science of jurisprudence is lower than any handicraft.' [2]

With the majority of the professors the method of instruction had completely degenerated. Only a small

[1] Lauterbeck, Bl. a[e] ff. Stintzing, a witness perfectly beyond suspicion, says in his *Rechtswissenschaft*, p. 72 ff., concerning the deeper reasons of the people's objection to the jurists: 'The German law was violently and recklessly sacrificed in the application of Roman law, all feeling for justice was smothered by pettifogging skill and subtlety. The avarice and ambition of the doctors of law made strong alliance with the growing encroachments of the reigning princes. And in the lower grades of the profession there was a dirty set of people whose ways and doings are described by Zasius, Melanchthon, James Köbel and others. Honour and riches, they say, are promised by jurisprudence; avarice and ambition bring youths in crowds to study it; the few only choose it from higher motives; consequently the profession has sunk to a mere matter of ordinary quick-wittedness, of squabbling and quarrelling, of spinning one lawsuit out of another. It is to the current charge of chicanery in legal processes, and of pettifogging dishonesty, that the saying *Juristen böse Christen* owes its popular significance and its wide use.' Cf. pp. 73–75. *Die Aussprüche von Melanchthon und Melchior v. Ossa.* This short-sighted, narrow-minded ignoring of German law, this soulless, mere external bolstering up of the Roman law, which made men blind to the truth that no one nation can think with the mind of another, was indeed a national calamity. When we consider that in consequence of these errors of judgment the Roman law has not even yet been completely digested, we are able to gauge the extent of the confusion which must have arisen in German jurisprudence when the Roman code came under the administration of an unspeakably stupid class of jurists. H. Brunner in Von Holtzendorff's *Enzyklopädie der Rechtswissenschaft*, i[2]. 204.

[2] L. Geiger, *Reuchlin*, p. 63.

number of them penetrated into the spirit of Roman law, which was tending more and more to sole dominion; not even a superficial summary of its principles was ever presented to its students. Often for weeks and months at a time the lecturers would dwell on one same passage and on all the opinions of jurists on this passage. 'Five whole years,' one student complained in the first half of the sixteenth century, his teacher had spent over the explanation of the Institutions, and he would still require another year before he had done.[1]

At Tübingen a rebuke was administered to the professor John Habritter, in 1588, because he had spent two years over the first two books of the Institutions. The Helmstädt professor Andrew Cludius, towards the end of the century, boasted that he could explain the Institutions to riper students in so few words, and with so little discursiveness, that he should not take more than four years over them. Even Hermann Vultejus, professor at Marburg, whose writings stand comparison with the best intellectual work of the time, says that his first public course of lectures on the Institutions which he delivered before a numerous attendance, spread over the period from January 10, 1582, to March 15, 1585.[2] And yet Vultejus was not exactly a friend of the discursive, diffuse 'Italian manner' which had become domiciled in almost all the German universities, and of which John Thomas Freigius, professor of law at Freiburg-in-the-Breisgau, said in 1574: 'How much profit is got out of the schools, now that the Italian pomp of endless strings of quotations from authors has become the fashion in lectures,

[1] Stintzing, *Rechtswissenschaft*, p. 290.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 130–131, 456 ff.

daily experience has yet to show. All my life through I have seen no stranger sort of logic in teaching than this same "apparatus," which consists in much dictation, writing big books, using up ink and paper. . . .' [1]

Besides the bad tuitional method followed by so many of the professors, their instruction suffered seriously also from their being themselves overtaxed with practical work. Complaints on this score were loud at almost all the universities.

'The principal members of the law faculty at Leipzig,' said Melchior von Ossa in 1566, 'are so greatly burdened with other occupations, such as sheriff's business, service to princes and lords, and all sorts of practical affairs, that day by day they are prevented from attending at the schools, and very seldom lecture, in consequence of which the pupils' time is grievously wasted.' [2]

At Helmstädt it sometimes happened, as the Duke of Brunswick wrote in 1614, that 'in sixteen, twenty, or more weeks, even in a whole year, not one lecture was given.' [3]

Concerning the negligence of the professors at Tübingen we find the bitterest complaints in the letters of Basilius Amerbach of Basle, who had gone to the university there in 1552 to study law; they were very learned, he said, but negligent over their duties as teachers. The lecture courses were frequently inter-

[1] Stintzing, p. 109, note, where there are fuller details concerning *mos italicus* and its effects, p. 106 ff.

[2] *Testament*, published by Thomasius, pp. 382, 388. ** Bruchmüller (p. 35) remarks respecting Leipzig: 'The complaints of the neglect of duty among the jurists and the ordinances against it are more frequent than in the case of any of the other faculties.'

[3] See our remarks above, p. 289.

rupted: 'Their indifference as regards lecturing is so great as to be scarcely credible.' [1]

'The entire course of jurisprudence at Tübingen,' says a complaint of the Württemberg government of 1561, 'ought to cover five years; it has, however, come to light that, in one whole year, lectures were only delivered during a quarter of the year, while even of this short time much was spent in dictation; the students had 'so little lecturing' that 'most of them lapsed into idleness and rioting, and other kinds of wantonness.' [2]

A jurist studying at Basle wrote in 1587: 'In the study of law we can unfortunately make no good progress; one of the professors, from sheer negligence, never lectures at all, and the other one is entirely without method, and mixes up all things in heaven and earth together.' [3]

At Vienna it came out, at an examination held in 1557, that one of the professors within the quarter of the year had only lectured for twenty-four out of the forty-two hours prescribed, while another had not lectured more than nineteen hours.[4]

At Ingolstadt, in 1582, the Duke of Bavaria had once more strictly enjoined on the professors of law that the so-called consistories—*i.e.* the exercises of the students in practical cases of legal decision—were to be held regularly. Nevertheless in 1584 they were completely neglected; 'some of the professors,' wrote the managers, 'in spite of prohibitions accept salaried

[1] Thommen, pp. 165–166.
[2] Reyscher, xi[c]. 157.
[3] Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben*, i. 123.
[4] See our remarks above, p. 215.

appointments from other places, and neglect their lectures for the duties of these other posts.' In 1586 the rector had to report to Munich that 'no consistory had been held for two years, and in the current year there had not been a single "disputation" in the juridical faculty.' As regards the lectures, the remissness of the professors could be best realised from an official report sent in to Munich at the same time; several students said they were really curious to see the faces of one or other of the professors![1]

Added to all these evils, there were many other circumstances at the universities little calculated to raise jurisprudence in the estimation of the people.

All students who had obtained the title of doctor received the rank and prestige of noble birth, and had to show themselves, both in learning and practice, equal to the highest demands. It accorded ill with this, however, that at Königsberg for instance, as the Brandenburg chancellor Distelmeyer wrote, in 1603, to the Wittenberg professor, Friedrich Taubmann, the juridical faculty were in the habit of selling the doctor's degree for forty thalers to people who had not studied. Taubmann did not express the slightest astonishment at hearing this. 'I see plainly,' he replied, 'that there are fools in Prussia also. I was surprised, though, to find how dear fool's bells have been hitherto.' The Netherlander, Dominicus Baudius, remarked to Taubmann in 1605: 'Nothing is so easy nowadays as to become a "doctor" if only one has money. Anyone can become a "doctor" without being *doctus*. The tests are laughable questions and answers as laughable.' He wrote the same to Distelmeyer.[2]

[1] Prantl, i. 309–311. [2] Ebeling, *Friedr. Taubmann*, pp. 139-140.

The first man who resolutely entered the lists against the degenerate methods of teaching and writing in Germany was Ulrich Zasius, one of 'the greatest lights of jurisprudence of the century,' professor at the university of Freiburg-in-the-Breisgau († 1535).[1]

He took up the same standpoint as the Italian Andrew Alciatus and the Frenchman Budaeus, viz. that it was before all things necessary to have done with the barbarisms of the glossators and to go straight back to the original statutes, to get right down to the real meaning of these, unbiassed by subtle, crafty, perverted explanations, and thus to be in a position to form a true estimate of the results of antiquarian research and philology. 'How beneficial it would be, nay, how necessary it is,' he says in his first important piece of writing in 1518, 'to make short work of all these endless commentaries, which, as every intelligent person knows, are more full of darkness than light! Buried under a tangle of controversial questions, they exhibit a mere show of erudition instead of any genuine learning.' 'I think nothing of our civil law,' he wrote to Boniface Amerbach, 'as it is taught by Bartolus and other Italians, for when you have divested it of its errors, there is little left. Barbarism has overgrown genuine law like a wild vine, and indeed to such an extent that its deepest roots have struck into it. Those only are true and genuine exponents of law who strive first and foremost to explain the original sources, and who do not add more from glosses and commentaries than is true

[1] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 148, 168–169, 173; vol. iii. pp. 26, 201 ff., 213, 360; vol. iv. p. 246. ** J. Neff, *Udalricus Zasius*, i. and ii. Programme of the Gymnasium at Freiburg-in-the-Breisgau, 1890 and 1891, and Werminghoff in the *Zeitschr. für Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F. xiii. (1898) 695 f.

and serviceable, so that the understanding does not become confused with a whirlwind of learned opinions.' In the preface to his principal work of 1526, he says: 'Above all I wish to say that I intend to base my statements only on the text of original documents, and on true and sound principles resting on the justice or on the nature of the matter in question.' Wherever he thought it necessary, he did what no other jurist had done before him, he went boldly in the face of the traditional repute of the Italians and the French.[1] Zasius had very few successors in all these respects among the German jurists.

Very few also imitated his tender treatment of native German law when in conflict with the foreign Roman law. He looked upon the latter as the undoubted, the valid common law of the land, but there were still, in his opinion, circumstances, customs and habits in Germany which were either not in harmony with its principles, or else entirely contradictory to them; therefore he thought that only so much of the Roman law should be adopted as was 'useful, salutary, and in correspondence with German customs.' Even if he did not understand, any more than his contemporary fellow-jurists, the full value of the national system of law, he never consciously wished to run it down. In his revision of the Freiburg municipal law he endeavoured to combine the German with the Roman law in a serviceable manner, without giving the latter undue preponderance.[2]

Among the many jurists who were trained under

[1] Stintzing, *Ulrich Zasius*, pp. 166, 249; *Rechtswissenschaft*, pp. 161–163.

[2] *Ibid. Rechtswissenschaft*, pp. 167–169.

Zasius was Joachim Mynsinger of Frundeck, who, in 1550, prepared for the press an edition of the collected works of the venerated teacher. He went over afterwards to Protestantism. In conjunction with Andrew Gail of Cologne, appraised by his contemporaries as the 'German Papinian' († 1587 as chancellor of the archbishopric), he was the founder of financial jurisprudence.[1]

Next to Zasius, the German jurist of greatest merit, also a Catholic, is Gregory Meltzer, styled Haloander, who was born at Zwickau in 1501, and who died at Venice in 1531. He had been incited to the study of Roman law by his friend Julius Pflug, and he made a lengthy sojourn with him at Zeitz, where Pflug filled the post of cathedral provost in the years 1524–1525. Pflug's assistance and a stipendium from his native town enabled him to go on a journey to Italy in order to carry on the juridical studies he had begun at Leipzig. In Italy, during a stay of about two years, he collected a wealth of material for a critical edition of all the Justinian law books, which he published at Nuremberg in the years 1528–1530, under the auspices of the council there. This publication placed these law books for the first time on a basis independent of the traditions of the Middle Ages, and it was greeted by the jurists as an epoch-making work. Zasius, who had been presented with a copy of the Pandects by Willibald Pirkheimer—an energetic patron of young jurists—could not find words enough in his letters to

[1] Stintzing, pp. 485–502. ** Concerning Andrew Gail cf. Varrentrapp, *Hermann von Wied*, p. 89 ff.; L. Ennen, 'A. Gail,' in the *Monatsschrift für rheinisch-westfälische Geschichtsforschung*, iii. (1877), and H. Burckhardt, *A. Gail*, Würzburg, 1887.

express his admiration of Haloander, and his joy at the restoration of the pure text.[1] 'Who is there,' wrote John Oldendorp in 1541, 'who does not admire the indefatigable industry of Haloander? This man, as if by inspiration from on high, has restored to their pristine glory the most grossly corrupted books of Roman law.'[2]

Oldendorp, born at Hamburg in 1480, was, as teacher and author, among the most prominent German jurists of the sixteenth century. In 1515 he received at Bologna the degree of licentiate of law, and on entering his career of teacher at Cologne he proudly called himself 'Doctor of Bologna.' He was much tossed and buffeted by the storms of the times, and being of decided Protestant proclivities, and sometimes under suspicion of anabaptism, and even of bad living, he joined actively in the fight against the Anabaptists; his longest period of work belongs to the university of Marburg, where he died in 1567 at the age of eighty-seven. In his numerous writings he followed by preference a practical line, but he also occupied himself with the philosophy of law and, supported by Melanchthon, was one of the first who attempted to trace positive law back to natural right. He also turned his mind to the history of law and wrote among other things an exposition of the laws of the Twelve Tables. Most of his writings, which, as professor at Cologne and Marburg, he published first singly, then in 1559 collectively, aimed at effecting an improvement in the practice of law in Germany. Complaints of the lengthiness of lawsuits and the uncertainty of legal decisions,

[1] Flechsig, *Gregor Haloander* (1872); Stintzing, pp. 180–203.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 323, note.

he said in his dedication of his collected writings to the Electors of the Empire, came under discussion at all the Diets, and attempts were constantly made to redress these evils by prince's courts, by inspectoral visits, by increasing the number of assessors, and by business regulations. The cause of the mischief, however, lay deeper. Reform could only be effected by compelling the parties to send in clear and concise statements of the cases, both for the complainant and the defender, and by forbidding the judges to pronounce sentence without stating their reasons and merely with the empty clause, 'from motive causes.' First and foremost, however, the method of juridical instruction must be improved. In a pamphlet which appeared at Cologne, Oldendorp had already expressed his opinion that 'the false method of teaching by which a simple matter was made intricate and diffuse, and which took no account of practical needs, and also the empty love of disputing, were the reasons why the science of law was more obscure than any other branch of learning.' The students, he repeated again and again, must not be encouraged to dispute over anything and everything, but they must be supplied with firm and sound principles of law, they must only be instructed in really useful things, and they must be exercised in the application of law and in finding out on which side right lies. Several of his works were intended as aids to overcoming the abuses in school and in practice.[1]

His efforts did not accomplish any important result. Twenty years after his death Nicholas Vigelius, also

[1] Stintzing, pp. 311–338. Concerning Oldendorp's participation in the Lübeck disturbances under Wullenweber (1533) see our remarks, vol. v. p. 475 ff. [At p. 477 of vol. v. *for* Oldenburg *read* Oldendorp.]

professor of law at Marburg († 1600), was obliged again to animadvert on the false method of instruction which was prevalent in the university, and on its pernicious effects as regards religion and the commonweal.

The university teaching, he said, did not aim at supplying the young jurists with definite conceptions of justice and training them to form sure decisions; it served only to develop in them the capacity for disputation. Even before the students had learnt anything of the nature of law they were exercised in arguing about points of law. 'The young students are trained in sophistical declamation and disputation before they have gained any power of judgment, so that of set purpose they argue and throw doubts on everything, and take nothing for granted; hence neither justice nor religion is any longer safe and sure among us Christians.' This method does not produce real jurists, but only pettifogging advocates, orators, and quibblers. 'None who come out of the academic schools understand on what plan to study law, or how to judge causes. This is plainly seen from the fact that lawsuits are often spread over ten or twenty years when they might have been settled in a month, or often, indeed, on the first day. The whole administration of justice is corrupted by these university-trained "orators and disputators," and loyalty and faith among the people are destroyed.' 'Whatever the faith into which a reigning prince is persuaded by his orators and disputators, that faith must also be adopted by all the subjects on penalty of forfeiting honour and goods, body and life. Justice, loyalty and faith are extinct among us. Consequently our Empire is going, crablike, backwards.' [1]

[1] Goldast, *Politische Reichshändel.*

By a series of very comprehensive works, Vigelius endeavoured to found a better method of instruction: he was the first man in Germany who established a complete and detailed system of collective law. His chief work, 'Methode des Zivilrechtes,' went through seven editions in the years 1561–1606, and met with full appreciation in France, Italy, and Spain; in Germany, however, it was little thought of, and Vigelius complained that he had spent all his fortune in publishing it at his own expense; he had not even dared pursue his own method of teaching at Marburg, but had been obliged to go on with 'the old "Justinian" confusion in lecturing,' so as not to clash with existing ordinances.[1]

Among the enormous number of students who entered their names at the universities as jurists, there were few who were sufficiently equipped with the necessary preparatory knowledge for serious study of law; only a fraction of them left the colleges with any fundamental scientific training;[2] many of them had not

[1] Stintzing, pp. 426–434.

[2] *Ibid.* (*Juristen böse Christen*, pp. 14–15) frankly recognises this fact. 'Whereas,' he says (*Rechtswissenschaft*, p. 76), 'there was great lack of institutions for giving preparatory training, the circumstances of the universities placed great difficulties in the way of juridical culture. These difficulties lay not only in the irregularity of the lectures, but also, and far more, in the clumsy, unsystematic way in which they were given. The very lengthiness and minuteness of the course of lectures on the Institutions, spreading as it did generally over several years, was in itself a drawback, and the fact that part of the hearers always began in the middle of the subject entirely defeated the aim of the lectures as an introduction to juridical studies. The exegesis of the Pandects and the Codex became practically reduced to an expansive explanation of a small number of passages gone through in the course of the year; the students acquired mere fragments of learning without any systematic connexion.' And so it happened that 'the great majority left the university without having acquired anything beyond a barren, incomplete knowledge of law.'

troubled themselves at all about attending the lectures,[1] but had been content with acquiring a pittance of knowledge of law from the miserable popular literature on jurisprudence then in vogue; all of them, however, went forth to pose as 'practical jurists in town and country,' to the general ruin of the people.

Ulrich Zasius had commented most indignantly on this popular literature of law, which had been increasing in bulk ever since the end of the fifteenth century, and he had above all condemned the writings of Thomas Murner, who published, in 1518, not only a German translation of the Institutions, but also a 'Chartiludium,' of which he boasted that with its help utterly ignorant persons could completely master the Institutions in four weeks.[2] 'Those persons,' said Zasius, speaking generally, 'deserve punishment who are making a practice of translating the art of civil law, with which they themselves have not even an external acquaintance, into the mother-tongue, and embodying it in all sorts of rubbishy publications; for not only do they show themselves profoundly ignorant, but they make fools also of others.'[3] All the popular means of help, 'Formelbücher' ('Books of Formulae') 'Laienspiegel' ('Mirrors for Laymen') &c., were in fact 'a veritable pest of corrupt juridical scribbling.' The native German law was scarcely at all taken into account in them, the foreign Roman code was treated in a confused, superficial manner and robbed of all its spirit; and thus their influence could not be otherwise than dangerous

[1] See above, pp. 240, 245.

[2] *Chartiludium Institutionum juris.* In 1509 Murner had already published a *Chartiludium logice*, in which dialectics were taught as a game at cards. Stintzing, *Ulrich Zasius*, pp. 150, 208–209.

[3] *Ibid. Rechtswissenschaft*, p. 170.

and corrupting, both as regards scientific culture and the administration of justice. These books were the actual stock in trade of all the swarms of wholly untrained or only half-trained writers, attorneys, procurators, who got the management of lawsuits into their hands, and pursued their avocation in towns and villages with all the arts of unscrupulous pettifoggers.[1] These were the people of whom Zasius wrote: 'They poison the law courts, they mock the judges, upset the peace, try to disturb the commonwealth, and are hated of men and angels.'[2]

Then, as before, German jurisprudence lay under the determining influence of the Italians, and the old traditional custom of visiting Italian universities with a view to juridical training became more and more extensively in vogue in the sixteenth century. 'In the study of law,' wrote from Germany, in 1557, the Vene-

[1] Stintzing, *Gesch. der populären Literatur des römisch-kanonischen Rechtes in Deutschland am Ende des* 15. *und im Anfang des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1867. 'Of this popular juridical literature it must be said that the intellectual force of our nation did not actually take part in it productively, but maintained towards it an almost entirely receptive attitude. The nation wanted to learn, not to create; for it was now a question of getting to know and learning how to apply a ready-made art, brought to a high state of perfection outside of the national life. Germany had been, to a certain extent, taken back to a new condition of childhood as regards the art of jurisprudence.' 'If the intrusion of Roman law has been aptly compared to a sin-flood, it may truly be said of its popular literature that it poured in a brief space of time like a rain-flood over Germany,' pp. xlv–xlvii. 'Among the number of jurists,' we read in the testament of the Augsburg canon, K. Braun, in 1564, 'there are some who have read nothing beyond certain German *processus juris*, Germanised *institutiones* and *summas Rolandinas*, "Every-man-his-own-lawyer's" statutes and ordinances and such-like compilations, and who, simply because "they have the gift of the gab," are looked upon as the most learned jurists and practitioners.' Werk, *Stiftungsurkunden*, p. 196.

[2] Stintzing, *Ulrich Zasius*, p. 102.

tian ambassador Badoero, 'only those teachers are in repute who have gained a name in Italy.'[1] Prominent jurists such as Haloander, Oldendorp, the Frankfort lawyer John Fichard, the Austrian George Tanner, and many others had studied in Italy, and some of them had received their academic dignities there. Students who could afford the expense, Protestants no less than Catholics, flocked in thousands to Italy. At Padua alone the matricula of the German jurists, begun in 1546, contained in the first twenty-five years over 1600 entries; in the second half of the century the juridical faculty at Padua counted yearly, on an average, 200 German students, among whom were many sons of princes, counts and lords.[2] From want of com-

[1] Alberi, *Le Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. I. iii. 185.

[2] Meiners, i. 235 ff.; A. Luschin von Ebengreuth in the *Zeitschr. für allgemeine Gesch.* iii. 805 ff.; cf. the *Tagebuch im Neuen vaterländischen Archiv für Niedersachsen*, iv. (1823); Stölzel, *Entwicklung des gelehrten Richtertums*, i. 52 ff. ** Concerning the attendance of Germans and Austrians at Italian universities Professor Luschin von Ebengreuth has written a series of valuable articles based on extensive study of archives. Cf. especially the following: (1) 'Österreicher an italienischen Universitäten zur Zeit der Reception des römischen Rechtes,' in the *Blätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, N.F. xiv. (1880) 228–252, 401–420; xv. (1881) 83–113, 250–264, 379–402, 417–428; xvi. (1882) 54–72, 236–273; xvii. (1883) 393–411, 490–516; xviii. (1884) 271–316, 431–446; xix. (1885) 503–558. (2) 'Grabstätten deutscher Studenten in Italien,' in the *Mitteilungen der Wiener Zentralkommission*, xiii. (1887), viii ff. xcix ff. cxx ff.; xv. (1889), 22 ff., 106 ff., 145 ff. (3) 'Quellen zur Geschichte deutscher Rechtshörer in Italien,' in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Histor. Kl. cxiii. 744 ff.; cxviii. 1 ff.; cxxiv. Abhandl. 11. (4) A. Luschin von Ebengreuth, 'Vorläufige Mitteilungen über deutsche Rechtshörer in Italien,' *ibid.* cxxvii. Cf. further *Zeitschr. für Kulturgesch.* xviii. 135 f.; Knod, in the *Zeitschr. für Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. xv. 197 f., 432 f.; *Annalen für Gesch. des Niederrheins*, Heft 68; *Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte*, xvi. 700 f., 703 f., where a wealth of Italian literature on the history of German students in Italy is catalogued. See also Von Kress, 'Briefe eines Nürnberger Studenten aus Leipzig und Bologna' in the *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Gesch. von Nürnberg*, 1895; Knod,

petent native jurists, the Duke of Württemberg complained in 1561, it became necessary to obtain foreign professors for Tübingen.[1] Melchior von Ossa, in 1554, proposed to the Elector of Saxony to send two Italian jurists to Leipzig, in order that the university might increase in brilliancy and power of attraction, and that the young men of the country might not be obliged to go to foreign universities in order to be properly instructed.[2] The juridical faculty of Ingolstadt counted in 1538–1597 four Italian professors, among whom were two prominent scholars.[3] Several Italian jurists of repute, who were adherents of Protestantism, taught at the universities of Heidelberg and Altorf.[4]

The French universities also attracted immense numbers of students, especially from the ranks of the nobility. Highest in repute as a school of law stood Bourges, where the Italian Andrew Alciatus from 1529 to 1536, and later on Francis Duarenus and James Cujacius, shone as stars of the first magnitude. The number of German students there was so great that they formed a separate corporation. Toulouse was renowned as the seat of the foreign students, Poitiers and Angers also attracted numbers of Germans, especially among those who inclined to the Calvinist persuasion.[5] Not a single German teacher of jurisprudence could stand comparison with the great French jurists.[6]

Deutsche Studenten in Bologna, 1289–1562; Biographical Index to the *Acta nat. germ.* Berlin, 1899; Von Orterer, *Histor. Jahrb.* xxii. 343 f.

[1] Reyscher, xi[c]. 155–156.

[2] Stintzing, p. 127.

[3] Prantl, i. 194, 309, 416.

[4] Stintzing, p. 390 ff.

[5] Barthold, *Deutschland und die Hugenotten*, i. 383–384.

[6] 'Germany, it is true, can point to a record of earnest endeavours and attempts, but she has no representative of jurisprudence who can stand side by side with the great French jurists, and who, like the latter, can even now be held up as unexcelled models.' Stintzing, p. 125.

A considerable number of highly eminent French jurists, who were obliged to leave their home on account of being Calvinists, gave instruction in Germany, as for instance Hugo Donellus, first at Heidelberg, and finally in Altorf, where he put the last touches to the chief work of his life, the 'Kommentare des Zivilrechtes' († 1591), the historian of law Francis Balduinus at Strassburg and Heidelberg, and Francis Hotomanus, a many-sided scholar, at Basle.[1]

The juridical faculty at Strassburg attained high repute and attracted students from the far distance, especially from the distinguished classes of North Germany. The students there were trained to independent study and to the use of original documents, and the results were discussed at examinations. Professor George Obrecht († 1612) had dramatised lawsuits performed in public by the students. Of quite unique importance was the instructional work of the Dutchman Justus Meyer.[2]

In their indefatigable efforts to extend and consolidate more and more the dominion of Roman over native law, the jurists enjoyed the full sympathy of Melanchthon. The latter, in the years 1525–1550, had often expressed in speeches his veneration for the Roman code, and had praised the wisdom of his forefathers for having introduced it into their courts of justice: all the municipal laws and Saxon laws, which were still valid, were barbarous; the Roman law surpassed the laws of all nations, it corresponded

[1] Stintzing, pp. 377–385. ** Concerning the labours of Hugo Donellus in Heidelberg (1573–1579) see H. Buhl in the *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, ii. (1892) 280–313.

[2] Stintzing, pp. 672–679.

throughout to the nature of man, it was a well-thought-out philosophy. Luther also repeatedly expressed his admiration of the Roman law.[1]

It was different, however, with the canon law. Luther demanded the abolition of this code because it was 'a childish, absurd, evil thing,' and by so doing he became involved in serious strife with the prominent Protestant jurists, who wanted to adhere firmly to the binding force of the ecclesiastical statute-book. A quarrel of this sort had gone on since 1531 between him and the Wittenberg professor, Hieronymus Schürpf. The latter believed in the new doctrine of faith without works, but it went against his convictions to repudiate the traditional authority of the Pope and the bishops, and thereby to unhinge the Church itself. In his lectures and in his mental attitude on law, Schürpf rejected among others the new-fashioned doctrine that princes and secular authorities were entitled to administer ecclesiastical funds; whoever applied these to other than ecclesiastical ends, he said, was a 'thief, robber, and Church desecrator.' In accordance with canonical principles also, he would not recognise the marriage of preachers as valid, nor their children as legitimate, or as rightful heirs to their parents. All the Wittenberg jurists agreed with him in this respect.[2] 'So far,' wrote Luther on October 5, 1536, to Count Albert of Mansfeld, 'I have not found one jurist who will support me against the Pope in such or similar cases, and they, none of them, care for my honour or

[1] A. Haenel, 'Melanchthon als Jurist' in the *Zeitschr. für Rechtsgesch.* viii. 259 ff.; Stintzing, pp. 272, 284.

[2] Fuller details concerning the 'serious differences' between Luther and Schürpf are given by Muther, pp. 203-216; cf. Stintzing, pp. 273-275.

intend my beggarly possessions to go to my children—nor of any priest.'[1] Altogether, he complained, the papal law 'had struck such deep roots in the hearts of the people, that it could not easily be eradicated, as we see and experience.'[2] Luther constantly applied to his opponents the saying 'Juristen böse Christen'; repeatedly in his sermons he let fly at the 'scandalous jurists.'[3] He even made no bones of denouncing the whole lot of jurists, with the single exception of the Saxon chancellor, Gregory Brück, as 'every one of them godless,' and in declaring that 'such conceited blockheads and pettifoggers ought to have their tongues torn out of their throats.'[4]

At Tübingen the juridical professor, John Sichardt, endeavoured to stem the tide of innovations, and came forward as an advocate of the lasting validity of the canon law.[5] At Heidelberg, where the juridical faculty formerly numbered six professors, three for the ecclesiastical and three for the Roman law, the Elector Otto Henry, in 1558, reduced the number to four, one of whom was set apart for the decretals.[6] When the Calvinistic Elector, Frederic IV, in 1604, abolished this professorship because the canon law was mere 'nominal jus,' 'in conscience and honour not to be regarded as law at all,'[7] the faculty opposed its abolition. Only at evangelical colleges 'which were either "Academiae universales" or which had only been erected a few years

[1] De Wette, v. 26; cf. v. 716.

[2] Collected Works, lxii. 240, 244-245.

[3] Stintzing, p. 275, and his pamphlet, *Das Sprichwort 'Juristen böse Christen,'* pp. 10-11.

[4] Collected Works, lxii. 238, 254; see our remarks, vol. v. p. 278 f.

[5] Stintzing, pp. 216-217.

[6] Thorbecke, p. 102.

[7] Hautz, ii. 144.

before, had the canon law been abolished,' but not at the 'oldest and best universities, such as Basle, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Tübingen, and others.' [1]

If, however, the continued validity of the canon law was not disputed at most of the universities, and if now and before it was fully recognised by the faculties in practical decisions and verdicts, it was, nevertheless, but feebly represented at the Catholic colleges, in comparison with what had been the case in former centuries; the action of the learned bodies confined itself almost exclusively to the domain of Roman law.

This foreign code, with all its evil effects on the conditions of the people,[2] especially of the peasant classes,[3] had grown in the course of the sixteenth century, through teaching, legislation and application, to be the actual foundation of existing law. Justice and administration were in the hands of the jurists; the life of the State moved in juridical grooves.[4] The

[1] Winkelmann, i. 370–373.

[2] See our remarks, vol. ii. p. 161 ff.

[3] We shall go more into detail on this point later on.

[4] 'Among the invectives' which Hippolytus a Lapide hurled at the German jurists one is directed against a fundamental evil of our State development, viz. the dealing with public affairs according to the method and principles of civil law. The influence to which the jurists attained with the State and in the State brought on this result, because, saturated as they were down to their minutest fibres with civil law conceptions, they could scarcely conceive of public matters as anything else than private lawsuits. 'Only those,' says our author, 'who are indoctrinated in civil law are capable of taking part in the direction and control of the public affairs of State; and thus it comes to pass that all the traditional forms, cautions and chicanery of the law courts are transferred into public life.' Stintzing, *Juristen böse Christen*, p. 19. Among the Catholics the number of jurists who had been schooled in Roman law and were practical business lawyers was comparatively very small. 'Your Princely Grace,' wrote the Bavarian Chancellor, Christopher Elsenheimer, to Duke Albert V on June 5, 1578, 'sees and experiences daily that there is a great lack of Catholic scholars and competent people, so that even the

teachers of law at the universities exercised a determining influence as well in the settlement of legislation in the different districts of the Empire as in the development of princely absolutism, and were therefore regarded by the provincial Estates, who made a stand for their old traditional rights, as a mere salaried company of defenders of princely claims, and as such they were detested.[1]

From the activity of the university professors as assessors in law courts, as members of the bench, as solicitors and councillors, there proceeded a fresh and continually increasing literature of law, that of the 'Responsa,' or 'Consilia,' which were circulated in large quantities, especially by the booksellers at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Up to the year 1618 the collections of this sort by German and foreign jurists which appeared in Germany amounted to over 150 volumes, most of them folio.[2] Besides the 'Consilia' many

most distinguished ecclesiastical Electors and princes cannot procure such persons, but are obliged to seek help from others who are not of their own religion.' M. Lossen, 'Christoph Elsenheimer' in the *Jahrb. für Münch. Gesch.* iii. 454. Thus, for instance, the Prince-bishop of Würzburg took into his service a Protestant jurist from the Netherlands, under promise that he should not be hindered in his religion. Von Wegele, *Universität Würzburg*, i. 127. The jurists 'had no thought of acting on the authority of Baldus and treating the German princes as *praesides provinciarum*, the Electors as *praefecti praetorio*, and at the same time of placing them as *principes* in their own territories, on an equality with the Emperor, viz. of claiming for them the *legibus solutus*.' Stintzing, p. 666.

[1] Cf., for instance, B. Henke, *Universität Helmstädt*, pp. 47–48. The Lutheran jurist, John Wolf, complained in 1600, in a 'letter to a friend,' that such a number of jurists were cowardly sycophants at the courts, and that others sold and perverted justice for bribes. Wolfius, *Lectiones memorabiles*, ii. 1040–1041. But that there were also fearless jurists at the courts, who told the princes bitter truths, we shall see further on in book iv. in the description of princely life.

[2] Stintzing, pp. 523–532.

other collections of practical literature were published. The effects of the 'treatises on [legal] cautions' were very pernicious, for their object was too often merely to evade the prescriptions of law, and under the cover of their text to compass fraudulent ends.[1]

Down to the middle of the sixteenth century an extremely subordinate position was occupied, both as a scientific concern and as a subject for academic lectures, by criminal law and criminal procedure. The jurists had little practical interest in these branches of law, for up to that time the administration of penal law had been chiefly exercised by ignorant sheriffs. Even in 1549 the Tübingen faculty refused to pronounce judgment in criminal cases. On the other hand, this same faculty, in a memorandum of the year 1566, mentions that it had occasion almost every day to give a verdict on some criminal question in its 'Consilia.'[2] Other faculties found themselves is a similar position.[3] Under the influence of the capital punishment ordinance of Charles V, issued in 1532, criminal justice, since the second half of the century, had passed more and more into the hands of learned judges, and consequently special professors of penal law were now

[1] 'The subtle casuistry, to which the scientific treatment of law had tended more and more since the time of Bartolus, the method of "Questions" in which it had moved, was enormously in favour of this art: and it was not without justification that Budaeus said that the growth of "cautious" literature was chiefly to blame for the deterioration of jurisprudence.' Stintzing, p. 533.

[2] Seeger, *Die Strafrechtlichen Consilia Tubingensia*, pp. 21 ff., 83 ff.

[3] The faculty at Greifswald, in 1589, within seventeen weeks had to pronounce over fifty Consilia. Kosegarten, *Universität Greifswald*, i. 219. Peter Theodorich, since 1608 professor and assessor of the Bench of Magistrates at Jena, reports in 1618 that this bench was chiefly occupied with penal cases. Stintzing, pp. 640–721.

appointed at some of the universities; for instance, at Tübingen, Jena, Rostock, Ingolstadt.

The criminal law book, however, did not produce a learned criminal literature. Until about the end of the century literature on this subject was limited to what was said in the general popular law treatises on penal law and penal procedure, to a great extent without any regard for the 'Carolina.'[1]

With settling practical cases, with decisions in criminal suits, the jurists became busier and busier; all the more so as the continually increasing demoralisation of the people multiplied lawsuits. It was most especially the unholy witch cases that from decade to decade made greater and greater claims on the labours of the juridical faculties. The 'Consilia' (legal advice) connected with these suits were not in most cases calculated to mollify the witch craze and the gruesome persecution of witches; on the contrary, they tended rather to make matters worse. There were, however, many jurists who did endeavour to improve things in this respect, and who in speech and writing took up the cause of the unhappy victims of a degenerate criminal code.[2]

As regards the commencement of juridical lectures, up to about the end of the sixteenth century it was

[1] 'A system of jurisprudence having in it any real vitality would have chosen the new statute book as a subject of scientific consideration, would have striven to grasp its legislative ideas, to shape them into principles, and to deduce from them, in combination with the traditional common law, a system of criminal law. Where, however, was there even the requisite ability for stating such a problem, let alone for solving it?' Stintzing, p. 632.

[2] We deal in detail with this matter in the Fourth Book in the trials of witches.

still customary to lecture only on private law. It was quite as a novelty that Hubert Giphanius, appointed professor at Ingolstadt in 1590, announced in his lectures that he intended to give special attention to public law.[1] The first compendium of State law came out in 1616, published by Daniel Otto at Jena; the university there, owing to the long term of years during which Professor Dominicus Arumaeus († 1637) continued as instructor, became the actual training school of the German publicists.[2] For the explanation of the Constitution of the Empire there was no room in juridical instruction.[3]

For German jurisprudence, and for the German past, the jurists trained in Roman law had, as a rule, little love and little understanding. There were, however, several honourable exceptions, which deserve recognition and praise in the highest degree. The jurist John Sichardt, finally professor at Tübingen, published, in 1530, a book on the national law of the Ripuarian Franconians, of the Alemanni, and of Bavaria, thereby adding a new treasure to learning; but he had to bear from his colleagues the reproach of dragging obsolete laws back from oblivion. His collections, as well as later collections of national laws, met with no appreciation from the jurists of the day.[4]

The Ingolstadt professor, Wolfgang Hunger, a pupil of Ulrich Zasius, who ended his career as episcopal chancellor in Freising († 1555), compiled several works on German history, and wrote a 'Vindicatio' of the German language, in which, in opposition to the French-

[1] Stintzing, pp. 407, 663, 667.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 669–671, 719–721.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 663.
[4] Stobbe, *Rechtsquellen*, i. 8 ff.; Stintzing, pp. 214–215, 219.

man Bovillus, he tried to trace a large number of French words to German origin.[1] The jurists Nicholas Cisner, professor at Heidelberg († 1583), and Simon Schard, finally active in the imperial tribunal at Spires († 1573), also devoted themselves very zealously to the study of German history, with special attention to original documents.[2] The most important historical works and published collections of original documents are those of Marquard Freher († 1614), the Heidelberg professor and councillor of the Palatine Elector, who also distinguished himself by the publication of important memorials of old German speech. The numerous writings of the unsteady, roving Melchior Haiminsfeld Goldast on the subject of old language and literature, and of the history of the Empire, give proof of indefatigable industry in collecting rather than of conscientiousness.[3]

[1] Von Raumer, *Gesch. der germanischen Philologie*, p. 48 ; cf. Stintzing, pp. 502–503, ** and Rubensohn in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1898, Beil. No. 243.

[2] Stintzing, pp. 503–512.

[3] Von Raumer, *l.c.* 50 ff. ; Stintzing, pp. 680–682, 734–736.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY WRITING

THE condition of historical knowledge and of history writing at the close of the Middle Ages, and in the first decades of the sixteenth century, was akin to that of all other branches of humanistic knowledge.

In the department of universal history the Nuremberg town physician, Hartmann Schedel,[1] did good service by his 'World Chronicle,' published in 1493; while a work of incomparably greater usefulness was the chronicle of John Nauclerus (Verge or Vergenhanns), the first rector and chancellor of the university of Tübingen. It was an encyclopædic compendium of history intended for popular distribution, and was published in 1516 at the expense of the burghers of Tübingen. To the compilation of this work Nauclerus had devoted unusual care, and a certain amount of critical acumen in searching out and making use of new sources of information. His chronicle found favour with Reuchlin and Erasmus, and went through several editions.[2]

German history was the subject of quite unusual care and study, and enlisted the highest interest and attention from the Emperor Maximilian I. By means of the humanists Conrad Celtes, John Stabius, imperial

[1] See our remarks, vol. i. p. 146 f.

[2] Joachim, *Joh. Nauclerus*, pp. 8–70.

court historian, John Spieshaimer (styled Cuspinian), the imperial house physician, Conrad Peutinger, the Augsburg town clerk, and others, fresh and important original documents bearing on German medieval history were discovered and published; Peutinger especially became one of the most industrious promoters of learned exploration of the past history of Germany.[1]

For the history of the German territories Albert Kranz, professor of theology at the Rostock university, († 1517), was the most distinguished writer as regards the northern districts. His most important work is his 'Metropolis' (which was first printed in 1548, and appeared afterwards in several other editions), in which he endeavours with patriotic love, and by means of independent research, to deal with the history of the Saxon and Slavonian bishoprics.[2]

Bavarian history received popular treatment in the German language in the last quarter of the fifteenth century by the knight Hans Ebran von Wildenberg, and the painter and poet, Ulrich Fütrer; but the 'Bavarian Chronicle,' written in Latin and German by the clergyman Veit Arnpeck, is on a higher scientific level, and is the first complete presentation of Bavaria's past.[3]

[1] Fuller details are given in our vol. i. p. 148 f.

[2] Krabbe, *Universität Rostock*, i. 224–236; cf. Von Wegele, *Historiographie*, pp. 85–89. ** *Zeitschr. für hamburg. Gesch.* x. (1898); E. Schäfer, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung des Alb. Krantz*, Dissertation, Rostock, 1898. For the life of Alb. Krantz see *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Stadt Rostock*, iii. For Bugenhagen's *Pommerania* see the new edition of the work by O. Heinemann, Stettin, 1900.

[3] Kluckhohn, in the *Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.* vii. 203–213. Von Wegele, pp. 155–160. ** Joetze, 'V. Arnpeck' in the *Verhandl. des Histor. Vereins für Niederbayern*, xxix., and Leidinger, *Über die Schriften des bayrischen Chronisten V. Arnpeck*, Munich, 1893.

The history of Austria was substantially enriched by Cuspinian's 'Austria,' a work constructed on the basis of comprehensive study of original documents, comprising the period from the Babenberg Margraves to Maximilian I, and showing a management of original sources in accord with true critical principles.[1] Next to this work special notice is merited by the Austrian chronicle of Jacob Unrest, pastor at St. Martin on the Techelsberg near Pörtschach, in Carinthia, which is written in German, and is of special importance as regards the history of Central Austria in the years 1468–1499; it is a scientific and at the same time truly popular work;[2] in this last respect it is worthy to rank with the best German town chronicles.

Histories of towns were at their best towards the end of the fifteenth century. Later times can show no works of this class in the German language, which, as regards love of truth, popular character, vividness, and attractiveness can be compared with the Augsburg Chronicle of Sigmund Meisterlin, and the 'Cronica van der hilligen stat van Coellen.'[3]

The most distinguished writer of the general history of Germany was James Wimpheling, who, in a work published in 1502, not only dealt with the political events of his time, but combined with these an account of the conditions of culture.[4] In scientific, critical respects, Beatus Rhenanus, whose chief work on German history appeared first in 1531, stood on a level not

[1] Aschbach, ii. 306–309.

[2] F. Krones in the *Archiv für österreichische Gesch.* xlviii. 421–530. See our remarks, vol. i. p. 294 ff.

[3] See our remarks, vol. i. pp. 291, 294.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 130 ff

reached by any one of the later historians of the sixteenth century.[1]

Most of the above-named men were as loyal-hearted to the Church as to the Fatherland, and if several of those belonging to Luther's time, like Cuspinian, for instance, greeted the advent of the Wittenberg monk at first with joy, because they expected from it a real reform of religious and moral life, they soon turned back again to the old uniform Church, to the faith of their youth, or at any rate, like Rhenanus, they abandoned the new Church system, when they saw what melancholy and disturbing effects were produced by the schism.

The only one of them who became a zealous partisan of the new doctrine was Francis Friedlieb, styled Irenicus, who, in 1518, in the twenty-third year of his age, published a 'Schilderung Deutschland in 12 Bücher,' containing histories, and public and domestic antiquarian records, written in Latin, and distinguished by varied research and sound learning. After this, however, the author became entangled in all sorts of theological dissensions, and made no further contributions to historical science, for which in his early work he had given promise of unusual capacity.[2]

The religious disturbances exercised an altogether injurious and stultifying influence on the study and the writing of history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[3]

[1] Cf. the treatises of A. Horawitz quoted in Bursian, p 151, note. For Rhenanus as philologist see above, p. 281 f.

[2] Von Wegele, *Historiographie*, pp. 128–132.

[3] 'As regards many branches of learning and study in which, judging from the first-fruits of the century, rapid progress and vigorous development might have been expected, the religious innovations had a paralysing

From the time that the nation had been split up in two hostile camps, there had been no single prominent

effect, deadening inclination and destroying all intellectual insight. This was strikingly the case in the department of history. Whereas before the Reformation, and even during the first years of its course, there had been numbers of men in Germany admirably fitted both for historical research and for the compilation of history, it was precisely in this respect that the next generation failed.' For German history, especially 'the period from 1500 to 1530 had been highly eventful and important.' 'If with the eventfulness of these first thirty years we compare the barrenness of the ensuing seventy the contrast is indeed astonishing.' Döllinger, i. 530–532. The causes of this change are summed up by Karl Adolf Menzel (iii. 48) in the following words: 'The hatred with which the papacy was regarded extended by degrees to everything that was connected with the Roman Church or had resulted from its rule. History appeared in the light of an accomplice of anti-Christian knavery, which, embodied in the long series of spiritual potentates and their aiders and abettors, had for a thousand years sold truth and right for lies and deceit, and in full consciousness of the iniquity of their deeds had aimed at drawing the whole of Christendom, German Christendom especially, deeper and deeper into the abyss of error and sin. Such an attitude was not calculated to develop a right historical sense and to train minds to freedom of judgment. The soil on which the seed of the centuries had blossomed was transformed into a barren desert full of thorns and thistles, and instead of raising the actual life of the present to a more hopeful condition of intelligence, instead of bringing the grand figures of the past nearer to the present-day generation, historians were only anxiously concerned to collect examples and evidence in proof of the assertion that between the fifth and the sixteenth centuries deep darkness had overwhelmed the nations, and that only a faint spark of the light of Christian knowledge had been kept burning in a few isolated witnesses of the truth.' In his pamphlet, *Die Begründung der neueren deutschen Geschichtschreibung durch Gatterer und Schlözer*, to which the philosophical faculty assigned the prize in 1876, Wesendonck (p. 3) says, concerning the pernicious influences of the Reformation on the writing of history: 'Not only did the Reformation produce in men's minds a prevailing tendency to dogmatism, and consequently to views and representations of history based on party spirit and sectarianism, but by fostering and supporting as it did the absolutism of the Princes, to whose secular power it added the power and authority of the Church, it struck at the roots of all healthy impartial interpretation of history; a fact this of which the influence has been felt in Germany down even into our century.' Cf. also other Protestant evidence of this sort in B. Duhr, pp. 541–542. ** Concerning *Luther und die Kirchengeschichte, i.e.* Luther's knowledge of Church history, Köhler treats in a

writer of general German history, but a variety of works on the history of particular states had been compiled, among which that of the Bavarian court historian John Turmair (generally styled Aventin after the Latinised name of his native town of Abensberg) has received most notice, and from certain quarters most praise, down to the present day.

Aventin, born in 1477, received his first tuition from the Carmelites in Abensberg, studied at the colleges of Ingolstadt, Vienna, and Cracow, and finally at Paris, where, in 1504, he took his degree of magister. His early awakened love of historical study, which was already evident at Ingolstadt and Vienna, was largely due to the influence of Conrad Celtes, John Stabius, and John Cuspinian. In 1508 Duke William IV of Bavaria appointed him tutor to his two younger brothers Louis and Ernest, and Aventin filled this post till 1517; with Prince Ernest, in 1515, he made a journey into Italy, and in the same year he accompanied the young prince to the university of Ingolstadt. Here, with the co-operation of his princely pupil, he founded, in 1516, a learned society[1] which was to busy itself chiefly with the research and publication of original historical documents. The society only lasted till 1520; among its publications there is an edition by Aventin of the Life of the Emperor Henry IV, prepared from a codex of St. Emmeran, which is specially worthy of notice.

After the education of the two princes was completed

special work, Erlangen, 1899. Concerning Melanchthon as historian see the *Programm* of Bretschneider, Insterburg, 1880. See also Berger, 'Melanchthons Vorlesungen über Weltgeschichte' in the *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1897, p. 781 f.

[1] *Sodalitas literaria Angelostadensis.*

Aventin, in 1517, was entrusted by the Dukes William IV and Louis with the office of Bavarian court historian; he travelled about Bavaria exploring libraries and archives, and in April 1521 he had completed the manuscript of his principal historical work, the 'Annales Boiorum.' It was not, however, till 1526 that he handed it over to the Bavarian court, when he received the commission to translate it into German. This translation, or rather a free treatment of the Latin work, the 'Bayrische Chronika,' he brought to a conclusion in 1533. He died in 1534, neither of these works having been printed before his death. His pamphlet also, 'Von den Ursachen des Türkenkriegs,' [1] written in 1529, at the suggestion of the Ratisbon council, and more moralising than historical in character, did not come out till after his death. Aventin manipulated both Latin and German with great dexterity. As regards mere subject-matter his chief merit lies in the extraordinary wealth of new and trustworthy material which he collected. In this respect, as also in his grasp of the connexion and continuity of events, Aventin showed marked and gratifying progress in comparison with his predecessors. On the other hand, as regards his much-praised critical power, there is on the whole not much to be said in his favour, and of deliberate falsifications he can by no means be acquitted. Sometimes it seems as if he wanted to mock and make fun of his readers; how else can one explain, for instance, his saying in his 'Chronika,' that he finds not only in the old historians, but also in the letters of St. Paul, that the holy Apostle Thomas 'in gross Deutschland geprediget habe den Deutschen und den Winden' (had preached in great Germany to

[1] *Aventins Werke*, i. 172–242.

the Germans and the Wends)? 'St. Paul boasts that he had preached Christ as far as Illyricum and the Danube, and as he further writes, so, too, Titus preached in the land of Dalmatia and Croatia, his disciples, namely Crescens at Meirtz on the Rhine . . . Clement at Metz on the Musel, Trophimus at Arlat in the Delphinate. . . . Lucius Cyrenensis, St. Paul's companion and intimate friend, at Ratisbon and northwards as far as to the Rhine. All these are mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistles.' [1]

How uncritically and arbitrarily Aventin went to work in the use of his original documents can be proved from numbers of passages. He was acquainted, for instance, with the correspondence of St. Boniface, but the letters which he reprints in his work are either complete interpolations, or they are freely touched up, or even extracts arbitrarily altered.[2] Again and again he gives State papers, bulls, authentic records—apparently word for word, or as accurate extracts, but as a matter of fact translated in his own words and embellished with his own ideas. In order to insure higher respect for his tales of the oldest Bavarian princes, he describes wretched productions of the fifteenth century as the 'oldest histories of Bavaria,' and pretends that he is following original sources when he is proffering his own inventions. If there happen to be gaps, he fills them up from imagination. His one great aim is to stir up disaffection and animosity against the Popes. To this end he invents conversations, and does not scruple to assert that he has found them in his documentary authorities; in the extracts from

[1] *Aventins Werke*, iv. 788 (*Chronika*, book ii. ch. 103).

[2] See our remarks, vol. x. p. 12, note 2.

documents he lays the colours on much more thickly than they are found in the originals from which he pretends to have quoted quite accurately.[1]

[1] In the 'Conclusion' to the third volume of Aventin's works Riezler has drawn attention to all these features of his historical writings: we derive thence also what follows. Aventin sends out before each separate book of annals and chronicles a short list of 'authorities,' but 'frequently important authors who have been very copiously used are not named, or even indicated with as much as a syllable, while on the other hand writings are sometimes mentioned as original sources which, if alluded to at all, have at any rate only been used in very slight measure. Further, the naming of the authorities, both in the catalogues issued beforehand, and in the rarely occurring citations in the text, is done in such a manner as only to provide us with further enigmas (p. 561). Intentional falsification respecting the age, hence also the value of his authorities, is not rare (p. 564). At the point where 'the Hungarian incursions and the rise of an independent duchy give special importance to Bavarian history, there gather round the laconic accounts of the original documents descriptions chiefly of a fanciful nature' (p. 578). 'At the head of the authors whom he consults for the sixth book, Aventin names the Scotchman David, who wrote the life of Henry V in three volumes. But in his account of this period there is not a single passage which points to an unknown source, so that we are unfortunately obliged to refuse credence to this statement' (p. 580). In the account of the murder perpetrated on the Bavarian Duke Louis I 'he forsakes the ground of conscientious examination of original documents in order to serve his own purposes' (pp. 598–599). 'Where tradition consists only of barren, isolated passages, he combines, paints, and works his material up into connected pictures; he interpolates conversations, and he allows himself to alter freely the contents of records and documents, and to introduce thoughts and expressions which belong to the Reformation period' (p. 603). In the re-writing of a Bull of John XXII he gives 'the fraudulent assurance, covering all his work; "quaecumque in diplomatibus reperi, *incorrupta* profero"' (p. 605). As an example showing that Aventin 'for the sake of effect lays on thicker colours than the original sources warrant,' Riezler says: 'The younger Ebersberg chronicler gives the following account of the prisoners after the battle of Lechfeld: "reliquos Ungros *iaculatos* ingenti fossa immiserunt." Out of this Aventin makes—though he has no other authority—"ceteros Eburonardus Eburubergomi *vivos* in fossam abiecit terraque *et luto* obruit"; and in the *Chronicle*, still piling up the agony: "had them thrown naked and living into the ditch and afterwards covered with dirt."' 'Another class of faults arises from hastiness in consulting original sources, or from mistakes in reading them.' 'The rapidity with which the work was executed could not but impair its accuracy; and the frequent repetitions

As court historian in the pay of the Bavarian dukes, who had forbidden Lutheran doctrine to be taught

of which the author is guilty suggest a certain undue hurry in the arrangement of materials. The Chancellor Eck, for instance, is praised in three places in the same words' (pp. 606, 607). In proof of the careless haste with which Aventin worked we will cite only the following instance: in his *Chronicle*, book I. chap. 213, he makes King Mithridates 'die in old age, unvanquished by the Romans, in his own hereditary kingdom,' while four chapters further on he says that he took his own life on his flight from the Romans. *Aventin's Works*, iv. 526, 550. Riezler's opinion is on the whole as follows: Aventin has 'put his wealth of materials together in a not entirely uncritical manner' (pp. 600, 601). Even Von Wegele, who at p. 261 ff. assigns to the 'Father of Bavarian history one of the first places among his contemporaries as learned investigator,' praising his 'lively sense for historical truth,' his 'learned and critical standpoint,' his 'conscientious winnowing,' and so on, is obliged at p. 270 to recognise that, 'owing to the fact that he let himself be misled into good-naturedly [it ought to be: from want of critical acumen] reproducing the daring falsifications of Annius von Viterbo, although Beatus Rhenanus and Pirkheimer detected and rejected these misstatements, he has placed the whole description of the earliest epochs on a false basis. For this error [or rather for this obstinate retention of once accepted falsification] he is scarcely to be exonerated, most certainly not on the ground that he repeats it persistently in his *Chronicle*, that is to say at a time when he had actually been warned against it most emphatically, and when the mistake was not a thing of yesterday!' 'When he puts opinions of his own time into the mouths of people of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he produces caricatures and not faithful pictures.' ** Concerning the strange judgment passed on Aventin by Ranke and the new Döllinger see E. Michael, *I. von Döllinger*, Innsbruck, 1892, p. 322 ff. Concerning Aventin's relations with Beatus Rhenanus see M. Lenz, *Geschichtschreibung und Geschichtsauffassung im Elsass zur Zeit der Reformation*, Halle, 1895; Riezler, vi. 389 f., where there are further quotations from the abundant literature about Aventin. Riezler here tries to reinforce the 'weakest side of Aventinus which he had before shown up, in order to make Janssen-Pastor's account of him seem a caricature.' That Janssen-Pastor have drawn no caricature of him is shown also indirectly by the latest account of Riezler, who says (vi. 404): 'Napoleon defined history as the great enemy of religion disfigured by human imperfection. Aventin is the first German historian who fought his way through to this conception, and in spite of all defects it is to his lasting honour that with him history serves practically the noble end of fighting this hazardous battle.' For myself I cannot but think that views such as these of the historian's task can only lead to the production of caricatures. Concerning the odious and

in their land, and who punished it severely, Aventin could not openly profess this doctrine, but he was a secret adherent of it, and once, in 1531, he even attempted, although in vain, with Melanchthon's help to find a place of refuge in Wittenberg.[1] Residence in Bavaria had been unpleasant to him ever since, in 1528—for what reason is not exactly known (he himself says, 'for the sake of the evangel')—'he was arrested by order of Duke William, and kept eleven days in prison, until at the intercession of his patron, the Bavarian chancellor Leonard von Eck, he was set at liberty. This imprisonment, which he set down to the instigation of the clergy, especially of the monks, increased the deep-rooted hatred he nourished against them, and which he had already vented in passionate utterances in his earlier Annals.[2]

And yet he had compiled those annals in great part within the walls of a cloister—in the Carmelite convent at Abensberg—to which he owed his first tuition, and which accorded him willing hospitality for the execution of his work. Moreover it was the clergy, both secular and monastic, who gave him valuable help in his labours by supplying him with documents and contributions; among these clergy, on his own statement, were the

virulent manner in which Aventin misrepresented and distorted Albert Beham see Ratzinger, *Forschungen zur bayrischen Gesch.* Kempten, 1898. Ratzinger thinks (p. 25) that Aventin must have set aside the original of Albert's *Konzepte* (the first *Konzeptbuch*), in order to make it impossible for his party criticism to be controlled.

[1] Cf. Wiedemann, *Aventin*, pp. 39–40; Von Wegele, *Aventin*, Bamberg, 1890, pp. 43–46.

[2] 'Many expressions in the Annals,' says Riezler (Conclusion to *Aventin's Works*, iii. 595) 'are so coarse that the reader might think they would not lend themselves to reproduction in German, until a glance into the *German Chronicle* teaches him differently.'

Cardinal Matthew Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, the Eichstatt bishop, Gabriel von Eyb, Wiguleus Fröschl, prebendary, later on Bishop of Passau, and his secretary Philip Tantzer; the Augsburg prebendaries Matthew Marschall von Biberbach and Conrad Adelmann von Adelsmannfelden; the Ratisbon prebendary Wilhelm von Preising; the abbots of Niederaltaich, of St. Emmeran, of Alderspach, of Scheyern, and many others besides.[1]

In reward for all this support and encouragement Aventin, in his writings, overwhelmed the whole body of clergy, high and low, with vilification of all sorts, equalling if not surpassing Luther's abusive fulminations. Thus, among other things, he wrote: 'There are a pack of men among us who call themselves "Geistliche" (the clergy, or ghostly men), just as if all other men were devils with whom the Holy Ghost [*Heilige Geist*] had nothing to do.' The mendicant monks he called 'windy dogs'; 'people may say what they like about them, but God has forbidden begging just as much as whoredom, the beggar-convents just as much as the harlots' houses.' Bishops, priests, and monks he said were 'the wickedest, the most venomous heretics,' 'the chief, nay, the only, cause of all the death and corruption which had ever come upon Christendom and the believers.' 'They insist that fornication is better than the married state, that immorality, shame, and disgrace, and villainy, are better than chastity, modesty and respectability.' 'If anybody takes another man's wife, dishonours all widows, and ruins young women, he is a holy, spiritual Father.' 'Nowadays our bishops can do nothing else

[1] Cf. Wiedemann, *Aventin*, pp. 56–57, 69, 70–71, 78, 79, 81–82, 163–165.

than strangle and kill; . . . with men's sins they swallow men's blood and even bathe therein.' [1]

We are almost driven to the assumption that utterances of such savage passion must have been written under the influence of drink. Aventin, indeed, while accusing the clergy of drunkenness and setting himself up as a moral arbiter, was himself frequently a victim of intemperance. His own memoirs leave no doubt on the subject.[2]

While even the greatest enemies of the monks of the Middle Ages could not refrain from acknowledging their merits as regards the preservation of ancient literature, Aventin, to show his boundless hatred of the clergy, wrote: 'Since the rise of the clerical Orders, the precious books of the most learned pagans and Christians have been lost; the Orders have thrust themselves in with their absurdities and their fables, they have torn up and cut to pieces all the old books, &c., they have done nothing whatever but cast about for the best possessions they could get hold of, they have robbed princes and lords, widows and orphans, of what belonged to them.' [3] All the philosophical and theological learning of the Middle Ages was in his eyes only 'brawling and jugglery'; Thomas Aquinas was only a 'disturber, troubler, and corrupter of the fine arts and the clever heads,' and so forth. 'Nobody,' he

[1] These and other passages of the same sort occur in Aventin, i. 181–182, 183–190, 227, and iv. 98, 402, 1103.

[2] In his House diary, for instance, he records: '1521. Abensperg fui, scripsi historiam Boiorum. Mart. 10. crapula. 11. crapula, vomitus. 16. crapula,' &c., &c. Aventin, i. 677. Riezler in the *Conclusion*, iii. 596, points out that side by side with Aventin's 'invectives against the drunkenness of the clergy, such entries in his diary appear strange.'

[3] Aventin, iv. 225 (*Chronika*, book i. chap. 102).

said, 'could do a better work than to take all their books and burn them all in a heap.'[1]

Aventin's charge against the monks, that through their fault 'all the rare and precious old books had been lost,' reads strangely against the unassailable fact that not a few of the most important of the ancient documents were 'missing' through his own fault. The Dukes William and Louis, on his appointment in 1517 to the post of court historian, had commissioned him to 'visit and explore the old monuments, antiquities, and inscriptions in all the convents of their principality, to examine them and to describe them,' and they had enjoined the directors of abbeys and convents to 'allow him to search among their libraries, letters, and so forth, for such antiquities, monuments, and old inscriptions.'[2] Permission to carry off literary treasures he had not received. However, the convents of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon and of Benediktbeuern accuse him of having purloined documents and manuscripts from their archives.[3] Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria wrote, on July 20, 1595: 'Aventin took nearly all the old writings and books, useful for his purpose, out of the libraries of abbeys and convents all over the country, and many of these are still missing from their places.'[4]

[1] Aventin, iv. 327 ff., 426 ff.

[2] Wiedemann, *Aventin*, p. 31 ff. where there are fuller details about Aventin's journeys of exploration.

[3] Ibid. *Aventin*, p. 196, notes 31 and 32.

[4] Aventin, iii. 553. The reproach against Aventin involved in this statement, Riezler says, 'loses much of its severity by consideration of the difficulties of intercourse and transport in those days, and also that it was probably only death which prevented his returning the books, &c.' But he goes on to say, 'It cannot be concealed that of the original manuscripts of many of our most important documents which Aventin used, every trace has disappeared since Aventin.'

Duke Maximilian, who spoke in this way, devoted to the history of his country the most zealous and circumspect activity, and he had the good fortune to secure as historians four men distinguished by their capacity for thorough, comprehensive, and unprejudiced research: the Augsburg town chamberlain, Mark Welser, who, in the treatment of the earlier centuries, far surpassed Aventin in learning and in critical insight,[1] and the three German Jesuits, Matthew Rader, Andrew Brunner, and James Keller, whose learned services in the field of history writing are recognised by the most deadly opponents of the Order.[2]

For the history of Austria, Wolfgang Lazius, professor of medicine at the university of Vienna and historian to King Ferdinand I († 1565), did good service. During successive journeys he was indefatigable in exploring the Austrian convent libraries and archives in search of old manuscripts, collections of coins, arms, inscriptions, and he used the treasures he acquired not only for different general works on the history of Austrian princes and territory, but also for special treatises on genealogy, numismatics, epigraphics, and geography. Among the manuscripts which he discovered there are many of the greatest importance, especially the so-called Rhyme Chronicle of Ottokar von Horneck, and the latest version of the Nibelungen Song. In contrast to Aventin, Lazius belonged to the

[1] Von Wegele, pp. 382–384.

[2] Cf. Wolf, *Maximilian I*, i. 497–499; Von Wegele, 385–388; B. Duhr, *Jesuiten als Historiker*, pp. 57–60, ** and his article on 'Keller' in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, vii². 361 f. See our remarks above, p. 384, and now especially Riezler, vi. 433 f., where also (p. 405 f.) the preceding Bavarian historians are treated in detail.

strict Catholic party, was a great friend of the Jesuits,[1] and gave frank expression to those opinions; but he did not, like Aventin, allow himself to be led by his opinions into spitefulness, capricious fabrication, or falsification. His numerous and often hastily compiled works on ancient and medieval history not infrequently show a lack of deeper study and sound criticism; but few of his contemporaries worked as actively as he did in the exploration of the past. A history of the Smalcald war written by him is still unprinted, but it is of slight importance.[2]

In importance as regards the earlier history of the Hapsburgs, the works of Lazius are far surpassed by the 'Annalen von Rudolf I bis auf Karl V,' published in 1592 by the Netherlander Gerhard von Roo, librarian to the Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol, a work resting on thorough and comprehensive research in many directions.[3]

On the side of the Protestants nothing of importance

[1] 'Societatis nostrae amicissimus,' says of him John von Polanco, secretary for so many years to St. Ignatius and to his successor in the Generalship (*Vita Ignatii Loyolae et Rerum Societatis Jesu Historia*, iii. Matriti, 1895, p. 241).

[2] Aschbach, iii. 204–233. ** Cf. M. Mayr, *Wolfgang Lazius*, Innsbruck, 1894; see also *Histor. Jahrb.* xx. 361 f., and *Neues Archiv für sächs. Geschichte*, xxiv. The reform ordinance of Ferdinand I, issued for the Vienna university in 1537, contains the following direction for the professor of history: 'He shall also write *sui temporis Annales*, so that the history of our times may be known to posterity.' The later ordinance of January 1, 1554, however, entirely omitted this passage, and confined the historical injunctions solely to the explanation of ancient historians and poets. Kink, i. 268, note.

[3] *Annales rerum belli domique ab Austriacis Habsburgicae gentis principibus a Rudolfo I. usque ad Carolum V. gestarum*, Innsbruck, 1592; cf. Hirn, i. 345 f. This work was also translated into German. ** Concerning G. von Roo, his life and his works, my pupil, P. Max Straganz, is going to publish a special work.

was contributed to the earlier history of the Protestantised districts; the works of the Pomeranian ducal secretary, Thomas Kantzow († 1542), are alone worthy of special mention.[1] Before the outbreak of the religious revolution the Elector of Saxony had wished to have a history of his Electoral lands written by George Spalatin, and for this purpose he had also caused researches to be set on foot outside his Electoral territory. The plan, however, had not been carried out. The physician, Erasmus Stella, councillor and burgomaster at Zwickau († 1521), in his account of the earliest history of Upper Saxony, proved himself a common falsifier.[2]

The Protestant Electors of Brandenburg and of the Palatinate and the Dukes of Württemberg did not show the least interest in the history of past times. What was done for history by the imperial towns is hardly worthy of notice in comparison with the works of the fifteenth century.

The writings both of Catholics and Protestants concerning contemporary events are very numerous.

Franz von Sickingen's attempts to overthrow the constitution of the Empire found an admirable historian on the Palatine side in Hubert Thomas, of Liège; his account is completed by Philip von Flörsheim, Bishop of Spiers, in his designed chronicle of the Flörsheim family.[3] For the history of the so-called Peasants'

[1] Cf. Von Wegele, pp. 307–308. ** See also Groenwall, *Th. Kantzow und seine pommerische Chronik*, Stettin, 1889. G. Gaebel, *Des Thomas Kantzow Chronik von Pommern in hochdeutscher Mundart*, 2 vols., Stettin 1897–1898. David Chytraeus as historian is discussed in the Dissertation of P. Paulsen, Rostock, 1897.

[2] Von Wegele, pp. 306, 321–322.

[3] The *Flörsheim Chronicle*, 'both as regards its literary form and its being the first—and, indeed, a highly successful—attempt at a history of race, is of special historical interest.' *Ibid.* p. 244.

War, the writings of the Palatine secretary Peter Haarer, and of Lorenz Fries, director of the Würzburg episcopal archives and chancellery, are the most important ones.[1] Kilian Leib, also, prior at Rebdorf († 1553), in his 'Annales,' comprising the years 1502–1548, wrote an exhaustive history of the Peasants' War, and one which is thoroughly trustworthy.[2] Concerning the Anabaptists at Münster, a faithful and vivid account was written by Henry Gresbeck, a simple handicraftsman, who was an eye-witness and a participator in their proceedings.

No single historical work of the century has had such a wide circulation, and exercised so penetrating an influence, as John Sleidan's 'Kommentare über den Stand des Religions- und des Gemeinwesens unter Kaiser Karl V,' published in Latin, in 1555.[3] In the

[1] ** Concerning Haarer, see O. L. Schäfer, *Das Verhältniss der drei Geschichtschreiber des Bauernkrieges: Haarer, Gnodalius und Leodius*, Chemnitz, 1876, and Schwalm in the *Mitteil. des Instituts für österreich. Geschichtsforschung*, ix. (1889) 638–664. Respecting L. Fries cf. Heffner and Reuss, *L. Fries, der Geschichtschreiber Ostfrankens*, Würzburg, 1853; Rockinger in the *Abhandl. der Histor. Kl. der bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xi. Abtl. 3, p. 147 ff.; Schäffler and Henner, *L. Fries' Geschichte des Bauernkrieges*. Published by commission of Histor. Verein, Würzburg, 1884, p. iii. ff. Kartels, *L. Fries und seine Chronik vom Hochstift Würzburg. Quellennachweis bis Mitte des* 13. *Jahrhunderts und Kritik*. Würzburg, 1899.

[2] ** Besides his 'Greater Annals' K. Leib also wrote a book of 'Kleine Annalen' (published by Schlecht in the *Sammelblatt des histor. Vereins Eichstätt*, i. [1887]), which, though certainly a less comprehensive work, is of no less intrinsic merit, and which affords striking contributions to the history of civilisation and culture in Germany in the sixteenth century.

[3] *Commentarii de statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo V. Caesare*. The best edition of this work is that of Am Ende, 3 vols., Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1785–1786, richly supplied with variants and references to authorities. Concerning the different editions, amounting to nearly eighty in number, the Latin and German continuations, and the foreign translations of this work see Paur, pp. 130–137. ** Cf. also Ulmann in the *Zeitschr. für Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F. x. 547 ff.; *Hist. Zeitschr.* 1889, 1 f.;

same year there appeared three new editions of this work; down to the end of the eighteenth century it was translated into almost all European languages; at Protestant gymnasia it was used as a book of instruction; all through the seventeenth century it formed the subject of lectures at different German universities. For a long time the Protestants regarded it as the sole source of information concerning the religious-political revolution, down to the so-called pacification of Augsburg in 1555.

The author of the work, John Philipson, born in 1506 or 1508 at Schleiden-in-the-Eifel, in the learned world styled usually Sleidanus, had his first schooling, in company with his compatriot John Sturm, at the school at Schleiden, after which he pursued humanist studies at Liège, Cologne, Louvain, and Paris; later on he studied jurisprudence, and took the degree of licentiate of law at Orleans. In 1530 he had already apostatised from the Catholic faith, and declared himself a decided adherent of Protestantism. In 1537 he entered the service of the Parisian Cardinal-Archbishop Jean du Bellay, who in public sported a Catholic mask, but in secret favoured the Protestants, and, according to the assertion of Martin Bucer, 'set about in earnest to destroy the Papacy.' 'From statements of the Cardinal,' wrote Bucer, on February 4, 1541, to the Landgrave Philip of Hesse: 'John Sleidanus, for several years, down to the present time, has sent us secret information of all that goes on in France which it is useful for us to know. He is a good Christian, who

O. Winckelmann, 'Zur Geschichte Sleidans und seiner Kommentare,' in the *Zeitschr. für Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F. xiv. (1899) 565 f.; cf. *ibid* p. 428 f.

would also gladly help to get the Antichrist,' the Pope, 'out of the way.'[1] In 1540, Sleidanus, after entering the pay of the French king, Francis I, appeared as his secret agent at the Diet, at Hagenau, with a view to hindering the reconciliation of the Smalcaldian confederates with the Emperor, and influencing the Hessian councillors to move the Landgrave to bring about an alliance between these confederates and France.[2] In later years also Sleidanus, with his friend John Sturm, of Strassburg, likewise in the pay of Francis I, was busy in Germany promoting French aims.[3] In 1544 he was recommended by Bucer to the Landgrave of Hesse, for the task of writing the history of the Reformation. 'This man,' Bucer assured the Landgrave, 'has read all the principal facts of this history, with the wonderful works of God as exhibited in your princely Grace, which he has very systematically observed, and is well fitted to be their historian.'[4] Sleidanus, who had meanwhile migrated to Strassburg, then received a formal appointment as historian of the allied Protestant princes. The heads of the confederacy enjoined on him that 'He must not issue this chronicle until it had been inspected by themselves or by persons commissioned by them, that is to say, not without their consent and approval.'[5] His remuneration for the execution of this work was fixed at 300 florins annually for the next two years.[6]

On June 24, 1545, Sleidanus informed his friend, the

[1] Bucer's Letter in Lenz, *Briefwechsel*, ii. 3.
[2] See our remarks, vol. vi. p. 137.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 299.
[4] Baumgarten, *Aus Sleidans Leben*, p. 67.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 113–114.
[6] Ibid. *Briefwechsel*, pp. 47–48; cf. p. 143.

Strassburg 'Stattmeister,' James Sturm, that he had lately bought the first volume of the works of Luther, and had started on his own work a few days before. He worked so quickly that seventeen days later he had already finished the first book, extending to the year 1520, and on July 11 he was able to send his friend a copy of it.[1] On his own confession this book was entirely taken from the first volume of Luther's works; but Sturm, as well as the vice-chancellor of the Elector of Saxony, according to the statement of the Landgrave of Hesse, expressed themselves well pleased with it, adding that if it was carried through in the same way it would be an admirable and important work.[2]

Sleidanus had at that time already done service to the Protestant cause by two addresses which he published in German under feigned names, one to the Emperor and the other to the Estates, urging forcible proceedings against Rome. The Pope, he declared, was the Antichrist; he had ruined and corrupted everything; all that he possessed must be taken from him; the Emperor, who was now only a vassal of the Pope, must free himself from this tyranny and control, and abjure the oath which he had sworn to Rome, for the Popes were 'sedition-mongers, and mischievous members of the Christian body.'[3] Luther, busy with the writing of his libellous pamphlet, 'Wider das Papstthum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestift,' rejoiced at the support which these letters afforded him, but the Emperor was highly incensed at them. Sleidanus wrote

[1] Baumgarten, *Briefwechsel*, pp. 72, 77–78. 'Mitto tibi primum librum historiae meae, hoc est quidquid ex primo Lutheri operum tomo potui colligere.'

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 131–132.

[3] See our remarks, vol. vi. p. 271 f.

about them to his sympathising friend, Cardinal du Bellay, and begged at the same time for settlement of the arrears of his French pay.[1]

After the completion of the first book Sleidanus, in August 1545, was entrusted with a mission to Henry VIII of England, and was therefore unable to go straight on with his chronicle. He kept it in mind, however, and utilised his foreign mission for advancing its interests. As 'Historian of the Protestants,' he sent King Henry his anti-papal speeches, and wrote to him as follows on December 11, 1545: 'Whereas by the help of God and the might of the King, the Papacy has been driven out of England, he must needs add to his work dealing with the truly wonderful transformation in religious matters, the events that had happened in England'; he begged, therefore, that Henry would furnish him with all letters and documents which he considered useful and suitable for publication';[2] the Smalcalders would be highly gratified at learning that the King, who was 'distinguished by so many other virtues,' was ready, as a lover of science, to support 'such an excellent undertaking.'[3] Later Sleidanus also entered English pay; by the exertions of Bucer he was guaranteed the yearly sum of 200 gold crowns, for the payment of which he pressed unremittingly.[4] Thus it is easily explained that in his work on Henry VIII, one of the worst of tyrants and despoilers of the people, there is no word of blame, and that Edward VI receives high praises.

[1] Baumgarten, p. 54; cf. p. 46.

[2] 'Quae quidem majestas vestra pati possit evulgari.'

[3] 'Tam sancto et praeclaro instituto.' Ibid. *Briefwechsel*, pp. 90–91, 113–114.

[4] Ibid. *Sleidans Leben*, p. 83; *Briefwechsel*, pp. 260, 261.

By the middle of May 1546 he had not yet got beyond the first book, and he begged for contributions of documents from the archives of the Saxon Electorate and of Hesse. At what date he resumed the work is not known for certain, but in October 1547 the second, third, and fourth books were finished. The work then remained at a standstill for more than five years. The fifth book was not begun till December 1552, and the Münzer rising of 1525 was the first event described in it. By June 24, 1553, he had just got down to the Worms religious conference of 1540.[1] On September 13 of the same year, 1553, he had already begun the description of the Smalcald war;[2] three months later he had almost reached the year 1553.[3]

Considering the scope of the work, the rapidity with which it was executed cannot but seem astonishing, especially as it was written in Latin. But it stands to reason that an historical work of art could not have been produced in so short a time, and as a matter of fact the mode of presentation lacks all artistic unity; facts and events are only outwardly connected by chronology, their inner connexion is nowhere brought out.[4]

[1] Letter to John Frederic of Saxony of June 24, 1553. 'Bis in das 1540. Jar und das Colloquium zu Wormbs.' Baumgarten, *Briefwechsel*, p. 262.

[2] Letter to Calvin of September 13, 1553. 'Perduxi rem usque ad annum 1546 et sum jam in bello Caesaris contra nostros.' *Ibid.* p. 263.

[3] Letter to Calvin of December 28, 1553. 'Ad hoc fere tempus usque perduxi.' *Ibid.* p. 265.

[4] Paur, the soundest critic of Sleidanus, says (p. 58 ff.): 'Nowhere can we trace any definite plan on which Sleidanus is likely to have collected his materials. After the manner of a chronicler he often relates detached, irrelevant occurrences side by side of, or in between the narrative of, leading events; thus, for instance, he tells somewhat circumstantially

The work, which was finished in April 1554, appeared the following year in print, and caused a great sensation both among friends and enemies. The judgment passed on it by Melanchthon is worthy of notice. He wrote to a friend on May 18, 1555: 'Sleidanus's history of the German national movements of the last thirty years, especially of the religious innovations, is out. The book is dedicated to Duke Augustus of Saxony, who has sent the author 200 Joachim thalers. I can but praise the generosity of the Prince; the history I cannot praise; fine things cannot be said of what is not fine. He relates much which I should have wished buried in eternal silence.' [1]

how at Mecheln, in 1546, a powder store blew up, how at Oberehnheim in 1556, near Strassburg, a vine-dresser, driven by poverty, killed his three children; he also interpolates accounts of storms, illnesses, wondrous phenomena of nature (also pretended marvels and portents, for instance at the battle of Mühlberg, on the death of the Elector Maurice of Saxony, p. 50). Isolated stories of this sort occur with special frequency in the last books of the work. The inequality of material is equalled by the inequality of form, in so far as regards arrangement. Nowhere are the circumstances developed in a really progressive manner: transactions and incidents follow each other in annalistic fashion, and when they are arranged chronologically it is without either outward or inward connexion.' Paur then brings forward a series of 'striking examples of Sleidanus's disconnected presentation of facts.' 'This chaotic, unsystematic method is most in evidence in the last three books.' Concerning Sleidanus's carelessness in chronological matters, see Paur, pp. 62–64. On the whole 'his statements can only be accepted with reserve' (p. 120).

[1] 'Edita est Sleidani historia de germanicis motibus, qui his triginta annis extiterunt, ac praecipue de ecclesiarum mutationibus. Liber dedicatus est duci Saxoniae Augusto, qui misit scriptori ducentos Joachimios. Liberalitatem principis laudo, sed historiam non laudo, quia ἀπὸ ἔργων οὐ καλῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔπη καλά. Multa narrat quae malim obruta esse aeterno silentio.' *Corp. Reform.* viii. 483. Wegele, who as a rule overflows with admiration of Melanchthon as an historian, says here: 'The grounds of the judgment in question [on Sleidanus] pronounced by this excellent though over-sensitive man, whether good or bad, are of the very slightest value.'

That the work would be specially displeasing to the Papists, Sleidanus had foreseen; 'but,' he said, 'people are used to hearing this sort of outcry against them, and they must fill up the measure of their fathers.'[1] One of his followers said that the work was distasteful to 'the imperial and papal hordes.'[2] From a friend at Ratisbon the author learnt that people were talking of the appearance of a book containing 'over 1000 lies by Sleidanus.'[3] The Emperor Charles V described him repeatedly as a liar. So, too, says the Cologne Carthusian monk Laurence Surius, in a work which he published in Latin in 1564, in refutation of Sleidanus: 'Kurzer Kommentar über die Zeitereignisse von 1500 bis 1564.'[4] Still more severe is the judgment of the counsellor of the Saxon Elector Christopher Carlowitz, which has been pre-

[1] Baumgarten, *Briefwechsel*, p. 275. [2] *Ibid.* p. 309.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 328.

[4] *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum ab anno salutis* 1500–1564. (** On Surius cf. the Dissertation of Etzrodt, which unfortunately was not accessible to me.) The work is dedicated to Duke Albert V of Bavaria, 'Ex Carthusia Coloniensi, Idibus Martii anno 1564,' and in it is the following concerning the commentary of Sleidanus: 'Carolus V, cum eos interdum legi audivisset, identidem exclamavit: "Mentitur nebulo, mentitur nebulo." Quod idem non semel auditum est ex ore doctissimi Numburgensis episcopi Julii Pflugii, cum illi ad mensam praeligerentur. Et illi certe, quod res Imperii probe cognitas haberent et plerumque praesentes interfuissent illis, quae a Sleidano narrantur, facile de hominis fide pronuntiare potuerunt.' He says further: 'Imperator Carolus V. cuidam egregio viro Acta publica, literas et alia instrumenta sua manu tradidit, ut ex iis Sleidani mendacia detegerentur.' Dealing with the year 1556, and speaking with sorrow of Sleidanus's death, 'nemo me putet hominis illius odio saepius illum perstringere,' he goes back to the above-mentioned utterances of Pflug and Charles V and says: 'Et sane datum erat ab eodem imperatore negocium cuidam, ut comitiorum acta ob Sleidani mendacia confutanda syncere excuderentur: sed nescio quo casu res illa impedita fuit, et omnia in Hispanias transferri jussa feruntur' (pp. 489–490 of the Cologne edition of the work [1602], from which also we quote in the following).

served by a Protestant scholar, Matthew Dresser. As professor of history at the Leipzig University, Dresser, in 1582, delivered an entrance lecture, in which among other thing he dwelt on the necessity of love of truth in an historian. On this occasion Dresser alluded to the fact that Christopher Carlowitz spoke in the most scathing terms of the untruthful representations which Sleidan had given of events of which he (Carlowitz) had the most accurate knowledge. 'Sleidanus's historical work,' so Carlowitz ended his complaints, 'takes away my faith in all earlier histories.' [1]

Sleidan and Surius not only from their religious standpoints, but in almost every respect, were fundamentally different chroniclers. In one respect only were they alike, viz. that they both endeavoured, without preconceived opinions and without fraud, to represent historic facts truthfully as far as their knowledge went.[2] The Carthusian, Surius, represented with uncompromising firmness the Catholic faith, and the medieval Catholic views of the position of the Pope and the Empire and the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Sleidanus, on the other hand, was fundamentally opposed

[1] ** *Orationes Matthaei Dresseri*, Francof. ad M. 1587, fol. 335. 'Ex animo meo numquam effluit vox Christophori Carolovitii, eius qui sapiens, qui eruditus a plerisque habebatur et cognominabatur. Is quoties mentio Sleidani commentariorum incidebat, *fere cum gemitu quodam multa aliter commemorabat, quam scriptor ille exposuit*, affirmabatque se non solum interfuisse plerisque conventibus imperii et privatis communibusque consultationibus, actionibus et decretis, sed nonnullis etiam praefuisse, ut fidem mereri ipsius oratio omni jure videretur. Sic igitur de Sleidano dicebat, tamquam epiphonemate quodam narratione claudens: *Sleidani historia adimit mihi fidem omnium superiorum historarium.*' Dresser then adds apologetically: 'Quod bono tamen studio a me commemoratum existiment studiosi, non ulla calumniandi libidine aut cupiditate detrahendi aliquid de auctoritate Sleidani optime de Republica literaria meriti.' Cf. Paulus, in the *Katholik*, 1895, ii. 573 f.

[2] Cf. the passages in Kampschulte, *Sleidanus*, p. 67, note 4.

to these views; he was intrinsically opposed to the Empire, and he wrote his history from the point of view of territorial princedom and hostility to the Emperor, that is to say, the point of view of the Smalcald League, which paid him for the work and supplied him with any documentary matter serviceable to his purpose.[1] If Sleidanus says of himself that in his narrative he abstains from all bitterness of language,[2] the statement is on the whole correct, whereas Surius abounds in harsh, bitter, wounding utterances against the heretics, especially against Luther, towards whom he indulges in the same sort of language that Luther repeatedly used against popes, bishops and all 'papists.' But if in the above respect Surius greatly lacks the calm and freedom from passion necessary to an historian, these qualities do not fail him when he is criticising individual writings of Luther or of other leaders of the religious political revolution, or single passages from such writings. These reports he treats as such.[3]

[1] Kampschulte (pp. 68–69) has admirably described Sleidanus's standpoint: 'The whole work is written in intrinsic opposition to the Emperor. The charge which even contemporaries raised against him in this respect is perfectly well-founded, in spite of all his protestations to the contrary, in spite of all obligatory encomiums of the Emperor. He speaks, it is true, in traditional fashion of the German Empire as a continuation of the Roman, but inwardly he has long since repudiated it. How little he still lives in the traditions of the Empire, how much he is already estranged from the old ordinances of the Empire—and, moreover, assumes such estrangement in his readers—is shown by many of the explanations which he introduces. For instance, it is characteristic of his attitude that he should think it necessary to explain the expression *Princeps elector*.

[2] 'Ab omni acerbitate verborum abstineo.' *Comment.* (edition of Am Ende) i. 15. In one place, indeed, he 'openly makes the ceremony of the Mass ridiculous when the historical connexion does not require it.' Paur, p. 65.

[3] Thus, for instance, he says concerning Luther's death (p. 411): 'Ejus obitus non eodem modo a Catholicis et Evangelicis id temporis

He delights in emphasising Luther's self-contradictions and the endless religious contentions between the different Protestant parties, and reproaches Sleidanus for either maintaining silence on these matters or else only touching on them incidentally and superficially. With equal justice it might be complained of Sleidanus that he passes over in silence the general national movement which was chiefly brought about by Luther's agitation and by his unspeakably violent writings against the princes, secular and ecclesiastical, and against the Emperor.[1] Sleidanus was a master of the art of keeping silence. There is nowhere, for instance, in his work a word about the powerful influence of Hutten and Sickingen on Luther, and on the whole course of the revolutionary movement. Luther's 'Address to the Christian nobles of the German nation,' written in 1520 under the influence of Hutten, and one of the very most important writings of the time, the actual war manifesto of the Luther-Hutten revolution party, is not even mentioned by Sleidanus.[2] For Hutten, indeed, he has only a few lines to spare, and these occur between the statement of a theological dogma of Luther and a letter of Henry VIII to the Elector Frederic of Saxony, his brother John, and

referebatur,' and then does not go at all into the accounts of the Catholics. Concerning Bucer he says (p. 454): 'De ejus horrenda morte multa tum (1551) dicta fuere, sed quia non satis constant, nolim ea huc adscribere.' Of Duke Maurice of Saxony he writes (p. 472): 'Fertur Mauritius durissima obiisse morte et se mirum in modum ob nimios dolores velut in spiras contraxisse. Sed nihil hujus pro certo asseverare velim.'

[1] '. . . fortassis et ipsum puduit, referre tam atrocia in principes convicia, ne Lutheri causam efficeret deteriorem: sed nos Sleidani fraudes non ignoramus'; concerning the year 1523, p. 122.

[2] Kampschulte (*Universität Erfurt*, ii. 77–78; cf. p. 105, note) has already drawn attention to this.

Duke George of Saxony.[1] Of Franz von Sickingen's attempt to overthrow the imperial constitution and his summons to a war of religion, publicly distributed among the people, there is not a syllable in Sleidanus. Only incidentally, at the place where he recounts the transactions between the ambassadors of Pope Hadrian VI and the estates assembled at Nuremberg, is Sickingen's name mentioned, and, forsooth, as follows: 'Franz von Sickingen, a stalwart man and much devoted to Luther, waged war against the Archbishop Richard of Treves; the cause of the war, however, was not religion.'[2] And yet, in a public 'admonition' of Sickingen to his army in 1522, it was said that 'they must fight against the popes and the bishops, those enemies and destroyers of evangelical truth.' On the return from Treves Sickingen, in imitation of Ziska, caused churches and convents to be burned to the ground.[3]

Wherever this sort of cruelty is practised by the Protestants Sleidanus keeps silence. A signal example of this occurs in the description of the war declared by the Smalcalders against Duke Henry of Brunswick in 1542. The most savage hordes of peasants in 1525 had scarcely been guilty of such frightful ravages as were here committed in murder, robbery, plunder and burning under the very eyes of the Smalcald confederate princes. More than thirty years later, in 1578, the zealous Lutheran Duke Julius of Brunswick still recounted the horrors of that war, telling how his mother

[1] Cf. Kampschulte, *John Sleidanus*, p. 64.

[2] '. . . vir fortis et Lutheri valde studiosus; verum belli causa fuit non religio, sed quod Richardus duos quosdam suae ditionis homines, pro quibus ille (Sickingen) fidecusserat, non sisteret judicio.'

[3] See our fuller details, vol. iii. pp. 284–291.

and sister, at rest in their graves, were not spared; their bodies, 'not yet decomposed, were dug up, deposited and then left lying on the ground, so that the sows and pigs came and gnawed them; even Turks and heathens would not go to such extremes.' [1] Sleidanus, as historian of the Smalcald League, did not dare mention such things. He only devotes a few lines, indeed, to the whole war, and to the violent seizure and protestantisation of a country to which the Smalcalders had not the slightest right. But when, in 1545, Duke Henry made an attempt to recover his territory, Sleidanus does not fail to state, twice over on one page, that the Duke did much injury by burning and slaughter.

It is no less significant of his standpoint as historian that he treated in detail the disgraceful love affair of Duke Henry with Eva Trott, while, on the other hand, of the double marriage of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse and of all the scandals connected with it he says not a word.[2]

After the death of King Francis I, Cardinal du Bellay used his efforts with Francis's successor, Henry II, to procure for his friend Sleidanus the continued payment of the French money. He wrote to the King that Sleidanus might on some occasion be able to render him great service.[3] Whether these efforts were successful, and whether Sleidanus ever had the opportunity of being of any practical use to the King, is not known. At any rate, however, he did the King substantial service by his description of the powerful

[1] See our remarks, vol. vi. p. 204 f.

[2] ** Kampschulte, *John Sleidanus*, p. 67.

[3] Baumgarten, *Briefwechsel*, pp. 143–144.

conspiracies of German princes with France against the Emperor and the Empire. Even a French historian could not have presented these conspiracies in a more favourable manner for Henry and his treacherous confederates. Henry's manifesto to the German people on February 3, 1552, a model of deceit, does not come in for the slightest disapproval from Sleidanus; to him also Henry appears as 'avenger of German freedom' against the 'intolerable tyranny' of the Emperor. Thus Sleidanus found it in the 'documents' from which he took extracts.

Again and again he claims that his 'whole work is taken from documents.'[1] And in fact this history does consist mainly of a loosely put together collection of original documents and official reports, which were placed at his disposal by James Sturm, chiefly from the Strassburg archives. But all his documentary sources relate only to public transactions; the more important private and secret transactions of princes among each other and with their agents are kept hidden from the reader, even in cases where Sleidanus, as with the Hagenau convention of 1540, could speak from his own information.[2] Many important official documents are also passed over by him in silence, either because they were unknown to him or else because he had his reasons for not alluding to them.[3] For

[1] 'Opus hoc meum confectum est totum ex actis.' *Comment.* i. 10. In the dedication to Augustus he says also: 'Scribendi materiam mihi suppeditarunt acta.' Concerning the liberties which Sleidanus not seldom allowed himself to take with the text of the documents by generalising expressions, by obvious additions, by careless misunderstanding, by falsification of meaning, see Paur, pp. 78–93. ** Concerning the untrustworthiness of Sleidanus see also Von Druffel, *Des Viglius von Zwichem Tagebuch des Schmalkaldischen Donaukrieges*, Munich, 1877, p. 49; cf. p. 111.

[2] Cf. Paur, pp. 34, 68 ff.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 70–72.

instance, he leaves out that 'genuine and to the Emperor most vexatious challenge' concerning which the Lutheran Bartholomew Sastrowe said that it involved Germany in the greatest disaster, and that it 'was not written by man, but by Lucifer himself, with hellish ink.' 'As, however,' Sastrowe adds, 'this letter was found to be an occasion of disgrace, either it never came into the hands of Sleidanus or he deliberately passed it over in silence.'[1] Sleidanus is also completely silent about the tremendously significant Naumburg convention, although he had taken part in it himself as delegate from Strassburg.[2] Concerning other events he is all the more communicative. He devotes whole pages, for instance, to a libellous pamphlet against Paul III which appeared in 1549, one of the most insulting pasquilles of the century, in which the Pope is accused of the most terrible vices, and represented as worse than Commodus and Heliogabalus. Evidently Sleidanus considered this one of the 'documents' from which he compiled his work.[3]

[1] See our remarks, vol. vi. pp. 333–339.

[2] ** Paur, p. 23; K. A. Menzel, iii. 531, note.

[3] Kampschulte sums up his critical analysis of Sleidanus as follows (pp. 66 and 69): 'The value of Sleidanus's work as regards the first years can scarcely be underrated. The question so constantly asked concerning the credibility of Sleidanus has no sense whatever as regards the first books. Not separate parts only, but the entire conception and treatment of the subject are at fault.' 'I speak especially of the first six books.' The whole work, indeed, 'is nothing but a collection and a working up of documentary statements, an industrious, often very dry, didactic production, which in its first half is completely wanting in direct intuition and proceeds upon quite erroneous assumptions, and which also in its superior second half—apart from its denominational-political colouring—is only of limited worth, seeing that the documentary material which forms its basis, and from which it is entirely excerpted, is for the most part still accessible to us. If the paramount value of contemporary history lies in the immediacy of vision, so to say, and in the communication of the writer's

In the dedication of his work to the Elector Augustus of Saxony Sleidanus speaks with contempt of 'a book which appeared in Mayence six years ago,' which was 'quite full of accusations, calumnies, nonsense, and terms of abuse.' [1] He was alluding to the Latin work, 'Acts and Writings of Martin Luther,' by John Cochlaeus.[2]

Cochlaeus at the first, like Ulrich Zasius, Willibald Pirkheimer, Conrad Peutinger, Beatus Rhenanus and innumerable others, had welcomed Luther's advent with warm sympathy, but, like these other men, he had withdrawn his support as soon as he recognised that Luther's undertaking meant a complete overthrow of the whole unity of the existing Church system, and called in question all the conditions of law which had till then prevailed. From this moment he stood as one of the most indefatigable combatants on the side of the old order of things.[3] He had at an earlier

own observations and experiences, Sleidanus can scarcely be reckoned among contemporary historians.' When Otto Henry, Elector Palatine, requested John Sturm of Strassburg to continue Sleidanus's work, Michael Toxites strongly advised him not to undertake the task. 'The Elector,' he wrote to Sturm, 'only wants to be your Maecenas, but you know for what pay! What, you are willing to write such a history for such a pittance, you who have hitherto always been a free lance? I beseech you, make no promises! Pledge yourself to no work which is not better paid than that of a servant.' Sturm, however, did not refuse the work. Schmidt, *Michael Schütz*, p. 73.

[1] '. . . criminationibus, calumniis, nugis, conviciis refertissimus.'

[2] *Acta et Scripta Martini Lutheri*, Moguntiae, 1549. We refer to the Paris edition of 1565. In the earlier volumes of our work there is frequent mention of Cochlaeus and his literary activity; cf. the index of persons to vol. ii. ff. ** The two chief historical works of Cochlaeus, the *History of the Hussites*, and the *Acts and Writings of Luther*, which both appeared first in 1549, were written in 1534. For the later continuation of the book on Luther till the latter's death, see Spahn, p. 312.

[3] By the Protestant party Cochlaeus was denounced 'as a fanatical polemist, for ever seeking strife'; he himself, however, wrote in 1535 to

period already occupied himself with historical studies. As president of the school of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg,[1] he published in the Latin language a 'Short Description of Germany' (a sketch of German history down to his own time), which was written in the spirit of patriotic love and enthusiasm, and in which, like Wimpheling, he laid special stress on the conditions of culture, spoke with bright and animated versatility on art, learning, trade, industry, natural phenomena of the land, and also wove in recollections of his own life.[2] At the time of the social revolution of 1525 he wrote a 'Kurzer Begriff der Aufruren, Rotten und Haufen der Bauren im hohen Deutschland,'[3] and criticised admirably the character of Luther's pamphlet, 'Wider die reubischen und mordischen Rotten der Bauren.'[4] A more important work is his 'History of the Hussites,' published in 1549 in the Latin language. His ability as an historical critic is indisputable.[5] He worked in-

his friend, John Dantiscus, Bishop of Kulm: 'Ego contentionum jamdiu pertaesus, nihil opto vehementius, quam ut Deus per novum Papam det nobis universale concilium, quod rebus perturbatis et medelam afferat et cum pace quietem. . . . Faxit Deus ut desinat suspecta et molesta nobis esse Wittenberga.' Of Melanchthon, against whom he had been forced into a literary combat, he said: 'cui alioqui privatim optime volo.' ** Widmann, *Eine Mainzer Presse*, p. 51.

[1] See above, p. 7, and our remarks, vol. i. p. 82. [2] Otto, pp. 39–42.

[3] Cf. the passages quoted by us from the *Conclusion*, vol. iv. pp. 345–346.

[4] Cf. F. Falk, 'Zur Cochläus-Biographie und -Bibliographie' in the Mayence *Katholik*, lxix. 315–321; ** F. Lauchert, 'Zur Cochläus-Bibliographie' in the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 12 Jahrg. 1895, p. 145 f.

[5] 'From the beginning onward of this war of recrimination the defenders of the old faith were no whit behind the innovators in industry and activity in the exploration of original authorities. The zealous champion of the old doctrine, Cochlaeus, was in this sense one of the first pioneers in critical historical research.' Sickel, *Die Urkunden der Karolinger* (Vienna, 1867), i. 27. ** See also F. Gess, *Joh. Cochlaeus*, p. 56. Spahn (p. 232) says aptly that 'the opinions which Cochlaeus held as to the duty of truthfulness had in this respect thoroughly qualified

defatigably till the end of his life († 1552 at Breslau) to make the hitherto unprinted manuscripts of original documents accessible to scholars; the numerous works on the subjects of Church history and theology, which he was the first to have published, are alone enough to secure him a lasting name in the history of literature.[1]

His principal work on 'Luther's Acts and Writings' suffers from the same fault which disfigures the 'Commentare' of the Carthusian Surius;[2] it is violent and passionate in its expressions, and the conclusions which Cochlaeus draws are not free from exaggerations. In the main, however, it may be asserted that he represented, better than any other historian of the period, the violent disturbing influences which the religious revolution called forth in its three first decades in all departments of life.[3] In matters of detail he very

him for the work of research.' 'Cochlaeus was critical by nature, and he used his critical powers; that the rules of critical history-writing were not yet developed at that time he could not help' (p. 234).

[1] There is a catalogue of these works in Otto, pp. 154–187.

[2] See above, p. 448.

[3] 'Cochlaeus,' says Kampschulte (*Sleidanus*, p. 65), 'writes from the rich storehouse of his own experiences, not so documentarily as Sleidanus, but all the more influentially and, we may add, also more veraciously. It is the spirit of the age itself which breathes out upon us from his work, whereas with Sleidanus, in the mirror of public documents all seems weakened and faded, and only those incidents and events are recorded about which public documents exist.' ** A Protestant 'researcher,' F. Gess, who makes no secret of his sympathy for the 'great reformers,' is obliged to confess, in his pamphlet on Joh. Cochlaeus (cf. the critique by Dittrich in the *Histor. Jahrb.* viii. 164), that 'the *Commentaria* are no unimportant source for the history of the Reformation. . . . Where else can we learn better of the hatred and fury of the opposing party? And who that desires to find his way clearly among the piles and piles of controversial literature which Luther and his collaborators conjured up, can dispense with this *vademecum*?' (p. 59). Krafft (Protestant preacher) remarks in the *Zeitschr. für preuss. Gesch.* v. (Berlin, 1868),

frequently shows himself to be more accurately informed than other contemporary writers—for instance, concerning the reason of Luther's journey to Rome in 1511,[1] concerning the Frankfort burgher rising of 1525,[2] concerning the Otto *v.* Pack quarrels,[3] about which Sleidanus gives throughout very unsatisfying accounts. To the revolutionary leaders Hutten and Sickingen, whom Sleidanus treats altogether unhistorically, Cochlaeus knows how to assign the right position.[4] Concerning the double marriage of the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, he speaks very cautiously and without mentioning the Landgrave's name.[5] His extracts from controversial writings and pamphlets of the time are valuable. What he says about Luther's death also deserves attention; like Surius he does not entertain any idea of suicide on the part of the reformer.[6]

If Cochlaeus was one of his fiercest opponents, Luther comes in for the highest enthusiasm in the biographical writings of the preacher, John Mathesius († 1565) and Matthew Ratzeberger, Luther's friend and house physician.[7]

As regards the study of Church history with a view to religious polemics and to the grossest attacks against and vilification of the papacy, the so-called 'Magdeburg Centuriators' became the source of the most stirring

p. 481, that from the historical work of Cochlaeus 'more can be learned about the history of the Reformation than from many Protestant eulogies.'

[1] Cf. Paulus in *Histor. Jahrb. der Görres-Gesellschaft*, xii. 72, note 2.

[2] See Otto in the *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, lxxiv. 327–332.

[3] Fol. 171 f. As private secretary of Duke George of Saxony, Cochlaeus was in a position to give trustworthy information on the matter.

[4] Fol. 19 f. 33, 84–86[b]. [5] Fol. 278. [6] Fol. 294 f.

[7] Cf. Von Wegele, pp. 242–244.

activity.[1] This work provoked numerous refutations on the part of the Catholics; in Germany from the pens of Conrad Braun, William Eisengrein, Peter Canisius, and others.[2] Without regard to Centuriators, Christopher Brower worked on side by side with Matthew Rader and Andrew Brunner, one of the most capable historians among the German Jesuits; he was for a time rector of the Jesuit college in Fulda, and later on rector at Treves, where he died in 1617.

In 1612 he published at Antwerp his 'Fulda Antiquities,'[3] reaching down to the year 1606, for which he made use of several authentic documents, since then lost; four years later he brought out at Mayence a series of life portraits of German bishops and abbots, taken from unprinted manuscripts of Fulda, Bamberg and Prague.[4] The principal work of his life, a history of the

[1] See our remarks, vol. x. p. 7 ff. for fuller details on the 'Magdeburg Centuries,' their authors, and their influence on other writers.

[2] Werner, *Gesch. der polemischen Literatur*, iv. 319, 455, 538. Hipler, 'Die christliche Geschichtsauffassung,' *Zweites Vereinsheft der Görres-Gesellsch. für* 1884, p. 75 ff. ** Concerning the works of Catholic scholars for the refutation of the Centuriators, cf. also Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, iii². 11, and especially Schmid in the *Histor. Jahrb.* xvii. 79 ff. The first counter-pamphlet was composed at the instigation of Philip II of Spain, by the learned Augustinian-Eremite, Onofrio Panvinio (†in March 1568 at Palermo; see G. Orlando, *Onofrio Panvinio*, Palermo, 1883, pp. 7, 9). Besides the Spanish King, Pope Pius V, Cardinal Hosius (see Eichhorn, *Hosius*, ii. 402 ff.), and Filippo Neri took a lively interest in the refutation of the Centuriators. It was Neri who instigated Caesar Baronius to the production of his famous annals (*Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad a.* 1198, 12 voll.), the first volume of which came out at Rome in 1588. Concerning the extraordinary merit of this gigantic work, which gained its author the title of a father of Church history, cf. Laemmer, *Analecta Romana*, Schaffhausen, 1861, pp. 69 f., 74; Böhmer, *Leben von Janssen*, ii. 275, 352, and Reumont, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, iii. 2, 692.

[3] *Antiquitatum Fuldensium libri* 4.

[4] *Sidera illustrium et sanctorum virorum qui Germaniam praesertim magnam olim gestis rebus ornarunt.*

archbishopric of Treves,[1] is also chiefly compiled from archives; this work, owing to its learned distinction and its truthfulness, did not pass the censorship of Philip Christopher von Sötern, the Elector of Treves.[2]

Next to Brower, Father James Gretser, famous as the author of several theological and polemical works, and also as a school-man,[3] did specially good service for German history—above all Church history—by several writings, and by the publication and explanation of records and other documents either newly discovered, or else printed before in imperfect text. Equally honourable recognition is also due to the Jesuit Nicholas Serarius († 1609 at Mayence) for his 'Fünf Bücher Mainzer Geschichte,' and his 'Lebensbeschreibung des hl. Kilian,' which he supplied with numerous notes of great importance for clearing up the history of the bishopric of Würzburg and the whole land of Franconia.[4] Before him the bishopric of Würzburg had had a distinguished historian in the president of the episcopal archives and chancellery, Lorenz Fries († 1550), and the history of the archdiocese of Salzburg, with all the bishoprics and abbeys belonging to it, had been worthily dealt with by the learned Bavarian court counsellor and chancellor, Wiguleus Hundt († 1588).[5]

[1] *Antiquitatum et Annalium Trevirensium libri* 26.

[2] Cf. Von Wegele, pp. 406–408, and also the remarks and additions of Duhr, pp. 66–68. Wegele, moreover, recognises without prejudice the remarkable significance of Brower.

[3] See our remarks, vol. xiv. p. 393.

[4] Concerning Gretser and Serarius cf. Duhr, pp. 62–66. ** Respecting Gretser as historian see, now, also Hirschmann in the Passau *Theol. Monatschrift*, 1892, pp. 251 ff., 359 ff.

[5] Cf. Von Wegele, pp. 298, 390. ** See also Mayer, *Leben, kleinere Werke und Briefwechsel des Dr. Wiguleus Hundt*, Innsbruck, 1892, and Schlect in the *Histor. Jahrbuch*, xiii. (1892) 904 f

The zeal of the Catholics for the study of Church history manifested itself also in the collection and publication of old conciliar acts. A first collection of these was printed in the years 1530–1551 at Cologne in three folio volumes. As this collection proved to be imperfect and to contain gaps, a new one was brought out in four volumes; a third followed in 1618, published by the Cologne canon Severin Binius. A number of patristic works were also published after 1567 by Surius and Von Binius, and in 1618, by the combined labours of the Cologne theologians, it was made possible to begin the publication of the 'Grosse Bibliothek der alten Väter' in fifteen folio volumes; the first work of this kind.[1]

In the domain of universal history there appeared in 1532 the 'World-Chronicle' of the mathematician and astrologer John Carion, a work not without importance in many respects, and which was frequently reprinted later on, and translated into several languages.[2] Melanchthon, who also worked zealously in the department of history,[3] subjected this chronicle down to Charlemagne to a complete rearrangement; his son-in-law Caspar Peucer carried on the work down to Charles V. Sleidanus also, after the publication of his principal work in 1556, produced a compendium of universal history ('On the Four Monarchies'), the chief object of which was to combat the

[1] Werner, *Gesch. der Katholischen Theologie*, pp. 39–42.

[2] ** Cf. H. Ziegler, *Chronicon Carionis.* A contribution to the historical works of the sixteenth century, Halle, 1898.

[3] ** Cf. Herrlinger, *Theologie Melanchthons*, pp. 444 ff., and H. Brettschneider, *Melanchthon als Historiker.* A contribution to the knowledge of German history in the age of humanism. Programme of the Gymnasium at Insterburg, 1880. See also *Histor. Zeitschrift*, lxxxix. 11 f.

papacy, and which continued in use till the beginning of the eighteenth century and went through seventy editions.[1]

One of the most original historians of the sixteenth century was Sebastian Franck, attacked with equal fierceness both by Catholics and Lutherans. Born at Donauwörth in 1499, Franck pursued his humanistic and theological studies in the Dominican college at Heidelberg, which was connected with the university there. In 1524 he became a Catholic priest in the bishopric of Augsburg, adopted later on the new doctrines, and worked as preacher in the Nuremberg hamlet of Gustenfelden. In a short time, however, he fell out with Lutheranism, and was much persecuted by the Lutherans, in whose eyes he passed as a fanatic and an Anabaptist. He lived successively in Nuremberg, Strassburg, Esslingen, Ulm and Basle, where he died in 1542, and worked now as author, now as soap-boiler, now as printer.

His principal writings in the field of history are: the 'Chronika, Zeitbuch und Geschichtbibel,' published first in 1531, which went through several editions, reprints and translations; his 'Weltbuch oder Cosmographei, Spiegel und Bildniss des ganzen Erdbodens' (1534 and 1542), and his German Chronicle 'Von des ganzen Teutschlands,' 'or the origin of all the German peoples, and all their deeds, good and bad,' which is 'presented in German to the Germans, to see themselves mirrored therein,' 1539.

All these works were merely intended to be reading

[1] Fuller details on the above-named world-chronicles and other Latin works connected with them are given by Von Wegele, pp. 190–219. For Sleidanus's *Compendium*, see Paur, pp. 46–49.

books for the cultured classes and to have a practical influence; Franck pursued no learned aims in connexion with them. They are compiled without any independent and fundamental study of original documents; according to the author's own words, 'they are put together from all available printed materials.' At the same time they by no means contain everywhere, as Franck imagined, 'the kernel and the pith out of many books,' [1] but on the contrary, as regards choice of matter, they often show a want of distinction between essential and non-essential things, and often also betray a great absence of critical insight. Of intentional falsifications, however, Franck was never guilty.

His special marks of distinction were his broad survey of the conditions of culture and civilisation, and his keen observation of national life as it developed under his own eyes, especially of the social and economic conditions in the upper and lower classes of the people.[2] He handled the German language in such a masterly way that he must be reckoned among the best prose writers of the sixteenth century.

Franck was a socialist, but his socialism did not aim at 'levelling down,' and the merciless severity of his judgment on the deterioration of social conditions was directed equally against high and low. He compared the princes with eagles which are always bloodthirsty, but which like robbery on a grand scale, are at enmity with all other animals, and can never be tamed or turned to useful purposes; whereas they (the princes) ought 'by law and example' to restrain vice

[1] *Weltebuch*, p. 143[b]; cf. Bischof, p. 70.

[2] In the course of our history we shall quote several more of his utterances on this subject.

and wickedness, above all the vice of drunkenness, they were 'the first, the greatest plague and torment of the land; they were drunk by day and night; it was just as if "being a prince" were synonymous with "being drunk"—how then could things go right?' Nevertheless this evil was rampant in all classes, for everywhere 'eating and drinking' was the chief concern, everything was 'full of speculation, usury, underselling, evil dealings and doings of all sorts; the money of the people went into the hands of a handful of merchants and usurers, while the greater number became impoverished. Of the 'madness of the swinish, riotous, seditious, reeling, many-headed people' he spoke in terms of the greatest contempt.[1]

As regards Franck's pseudomystic and pantheistic ideas, whatever we may think about them, there is no doubt that he had a deeply religious nature, that religion was to him in truth 'a matter of the heart and of love and benevolence to all his fellow-men,' and that he preferred to live in poverty and want rather than to sacrifice his convictions for worldly honour and advantages.[2] However much people might

[1] Cf. Roscher, *Gesch. der Nationalökonomik*, pp. 92–95; Hagen, iii. 385–391.

[2] This is brought out with justice by Weinkauff in his article on Franck in the *Allgemein. deutsche Biographie*, vii. 264 ff. ** The earlier literature about S. Franck is summarised in Birlinger's *Alemannia*, 1876 f. Among the monographs on S. Franck let me mention: Gosche, *Franck als Geograph*, Berlin, 1853; Feldner, *Die Ansichten Francks nach ihren Ursprung und Zusammenhang*, Berlin, 1872; Haggenmacher, *S. Franck, sein Leben und seine religiöse Stellung*, Zurich, 1886; Hegler, *Geist und Schrift von S. Franck*, Freiburg, 1892; Tausch, *S. Franck* (*Dissert.*) Halle, 1893. Concerning Franck as historian H. Oncken writes in the *Histor. Zeitschr.* lxxxii. (1889) 385–435; see finally also, Hegler, *S. Francks Lateinische Paraphrase der deutschen Theologie* and his *Traktate* preserved in Dutch. Tübingen, 1901.

oppose and attack him, nobody could with truth cast any suspicion on his behaviour.

His zeal was always beneficially active against that kind of scholarship which did not aim at the highest, the divine element, but was only self-seeking, and whose disciples, instead of growing humble through learning, used it as a mantle for their pride and ambition.

If Franck was pleased to see the Antichrist in the papacy, if he could not forgive St. Boniface for having 'perverted Germany to the Catholic faith,' if he called the decisions of the councils a 'bulwark of lies,' and declared all monastic orders *en masse* to be 'the devil's convention,' [1] in those and similar views he was entirely on the plane of Protestant polemics of the time, and only reiterated what Luther and countless others had written before him; on the other hand, in an age overflowing with hatred and slander it was an unusual phenomenon that in his 'Geschichtbibel,' he should at any rate have introduced a whole series of popes who were distinguished by high intellectual qualities and all the virtues.[2]

That things had improved in Germany after 'the popish devil' had been driven out, Franck was so far from pretending that he even expressed the conviction that 'seven worse and more knavish spirits' had come in his place.[3]

If at first he had stood uncompromisingly for the Lutheran fundamental dogmas of faith without works and the non-freedom of the human will, later on, and the more he observed the demoralising effects of this

[1] *Geschichtbibel*, pp. 287[b], 288[a], 295[b], 300, 303[a], 304, 312[b].
[2] *Ibid.* p. 163. Cf. Bischof, p. 204.

teaching on the people, he spoke most decidedly against these doctrines. 'If there were no free will,' he wrote, 'there would be no sin, all punishment would be unjust and all teaching in vain, and it would be mere monkey-play that Christ grieved over the blindness of the Pharisees. *Summa*, we must have a free will, or else we do away with the whole force of the Scriptures and make God Himself an arch-sinner.' The result of the new doctrine of justification was that 'there was no longer any conscience as regards sin, because people said to themselves that works were of no avail, faith alone brought salvation.' 'For myself I am sure and certain, and the written experience of all histories confirms my opinion, that there never was a more faithless, God-forsaken world than this latter-day evangelical one, in which everybody sings and prates of faith only, although Christ says the opposite.' 'It it an undeniable sign that there is no longer any faith on earth, because love follows in the footsteps of faith. The mad world has now invented for itself a false faith. Nowadays fasting has become a sin, and whoever undergoes privation in the belief that it is virtuous to do so is a papist and a Pharisee; to be drunk is the gospel of most of us. Such drunkenness there has never been before, from women down to children. And just as all fear of God has forsaken the land, so too has all unity.'[1]

Most bitterly did Franck bewail the internal religious distractedness of Germany and the princely Caesaro-papism in matters of faith. 'Germania,' he says in his 'Cosmography,' 'is divided into many sects and creeds, so much so that at least ten different faiths have sprung

[1] Cf. the utterances in Bischof, pp. 279–280, 287; Döllinger, i. 200–202.

up of late, and there is no end to them.' 'Every day a fresh sect starts up, each with its own teacher, leader, pope, so that nobody now can write about the German faith, and indeed one whole volume would not be enough to describe all the different sects and their creeds.' Among the people 'each one believes what may please the masses or the ruler.' 'The princes who agree with Luther have a Lutheran or, as it is called, an evangelical people.' If 'any individual, more out of curiosity than understanding, adopts the faith of some other country or sect, he is obliged to keep his mouth shut and worship the god of the land whom his bishop or his overseer holds up before him. If one prince dies and the successor brings in another creed, this at once becomes God's Word. And thus the common people sway this way and that without any sense, and those also who wish to be bishops and presidents—whatever is the watchword that they make their coin.' 'Formerly under the papacy there was much more freedom to punish the vices of princes and lords; now all must be hushed up, or we are called seditious, so tender has the world become in these days. God have pity on us!' [1]

All these circumstances and their manifest effect in the deterioration of the people filled Franck with such distress that he exclaimed: 'It would be no wonder if the hearts of men who perceive these things should break with sorrow, and that they should wish themselves dead a thousand times, rather than to behold such blindness and misery. If we look on it all, as did Democritus, in the spirit of ridicule, then forsooth we

[1] ** The deceased author of this work was occupied in looking through the above quotations during the last day but one of his life.

must burst with laughter—such antics is the world performing.' [1]

If Sebastian Franck in his 'Weltbuch' had throughout combined the history of the people with that of the country, Sebastian Münster of Ingelheim-on-the-Rhine, a favourite pupil of the mathematician John Stöffler at Tübingen, later on professor of Hebrew at the university of Basle († 1552), with incomparably greater scholarship and with the co-operation of many others, produced in his 'Kosmographie, Beschreibung aller Länder,' the general history of the earth in the German language. This work, which gained its author the honourable appellation of 'the German Strabo,' appeared first in 1544, and was frequently reprinted as a manual for the cultured classes, and translated into all sorts of languages; it far surpasses the performances of Sebastian Franck; it is also made attractive by its genial, kindly tone, and it is permeated by the warm spirit of patriotic feeling.[2] Besides much

[1] *Cosmography*, pp. 37[b], 44, 163[a].

[2] Cf. W. H. Riehl, *Freie Vorträge* (First Collection), Stuttgart, 1873, pp. 135–160. This article contains admirable statements for comparison between Franck and Münster; Roscher, also (*Nationalökonomik*, p. 96), draws a comparison between the two. ** Concerning Münster, see also L. Gallois, *Les géographes allemands de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1890, and (now) especially W. Hantsch in the *Abhandl. der philos.-histor. Kl. der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft*, x. (1899), where a detailed account is given of Münster's life and of his work as cosmographer, cartographer, mathematician, astronomer and Hebraist. See also *Histor. Zeitschr.* lxxxiv. 101 f. See also Schultheiss in the *Beil. zur Allgemein. Zeitung*, 1897, No. 120. Hantzsch, in the *Geographische Zeitschrift*, iii. (1897 98), deals with the German geographers of the Renaissance period. Cf. also Günther, 'Joh. Eck als Geograph,' in Reinhardstöttner's *Forschungen*, ii. 140; 'Jacob Ziegler, ein bayrischer Geograph und Mathematiker' (*ibid.* iv. 1 f.; cf. v. 116 f.); Ruge, 'Geschichte der sächsischen Kartographie' in the *Zeitschr. für wissenschaftliche Geographie*, ii. 89 f., 223 f.; Schmid, *Kurfürst August von Sachsen als Geograph*, Dresden,

that is inaccurate and fabulous, it contains information of the highest importance, especially on Germany and Switzerland.

In the pictorial description of the earth's surface the Germans, from the middle to the end of the sixteenth century, attained a generally recognised pre-eminence over all other nations. Nowhere, at the time, was there a larger number of atlas-makers than in Germany. Down to the county of Waldeck each section of the Empire had its own geographer, and single maps showed even then an amount of precision which was scarcely arrived at elsewhere a century later.[1] Next in distinction to Peter and Philip Apian[2] for geographical maps stands Gerhard Krämer, or Mercator, a native of the Jülich territory, and since 1552 settled at Duisburg as cosmographer to the Duke of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg.[3] At Louvain, where he was a student, he had already employed himself in making maps of the country, terrestrial and celestial globes, and astrolabes; his great map of the world, of 1569, was circulated far and wide, frequently copied and used for a long time as a pattern map; it was applied

1898; cf. *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte*, xx. 155 f.; Ehrenburg, *Beitrag zur Geschichte der fränkischen Kartographie zur Zeit J. Echters von Mespelbrunn*, i.; *Seger als Kartograph*, Würzburg, 1892; Hartmann, *Der erste bayrische Geschichtschreiber Johannes Turmair, genannt Aventinus, in seinen Beziehungen zur Geographie*, Ingolstadt, 1898; S. Günther, 'Die Aventin-Karte' in the *Allgemein. Zeitung*, 1899, Beil. No. 289; cf. *Histor. Jahrbuch*, 1900, p. 559 f.; B. Pixis, 'Kepler als Geograph,' in Günther's *Münchener geograph. Studien*, vi. Munich, 1898.

[1] Says Peschel, pp. 373–374; he establishes this assertion by reference to various master works of the highest rank.

[2] We shall return to both of these men later on. ** Concerning the cartographer Daniel Keller (Cellarius) of Wildberg, cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*.

[3] Concerning Mercator's origin see Peschel, p. v, note 1.

specially to sea-charts; he ranks among the greatest cartographers of all times. He died in 1594.[1]

[1] Peschel, p. vi, note 294, 369. Wolf, *Gesch. der Astronomie*, pp. 326, 386–387. ** Cf. F. Sander, 'G. Mercator und sein Atlas (1595)' in the *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1895, Beil. No. 228, 229. Concerning Mercator see also Lassalle in the *Histor. Studien und Skizzen zur Naturwissenschaft am Niederrhein*, pp. 2–5.

CHAPTER IV

MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY

PIONEER work in the department of mathematics and astronomy had been started by the cardinal Nicholas of Cusa († 1464). Both in mathematics and physics he had opened up new paths, and in astronomy and cosmology had prepared the way for the Copernican system by his assumption that the universe was of infinite extension, and that everything in it was in a condition of perpetual motion.[1] To his influence as man and author Germany owes her two most distinguished astronomers, Georg von Peuerbach, of Upper Austria, and John Müller, styled Regiomontanus from his birthplace Königsberg in Lower Franconia. These two men sought and found in the documents of antiquity, newly made accessible, a sure basis for astronomical study, and they may be regarded as the actual fathers of astronomical calculation and observation. Through them the university of Vienna, at which they carried on their work, gained a world-wide renown as the home of mathematical and astronomical science.

Heinrich von Hesse ('Langenstein'), professor of

[1] All further details are given in the two pamphlets of Schanz, *Der Kardinal Nikolaus von Kusa als Mathematiker*, and *Die astronomischen Anschauungen des Nikolaus von Kusa und seiner Zeit*, Rottweil, 1872, 1873; cf. Günther, pp. 281–282, and ** Cantor, pp. 170 ff.

theology, had already at the end of the fourteenth century established these sciences at the above university; it is much to his credit that he stood forward as a brave champion against astrology and the comet superstitions.[1] Later on Johann von Gmunden, the first regular mathematical professor at a genuine German university, and prebendary at St. Stephan († 1442), carried on tuition at Vienna on a high plane of scholarship, and among other innovations introduced the teaching of the astrolabe into the list of standing subjects of instruction; by a generous bequest of books and instruments he also laid the foundation of the Vienna library which became so famous.[2] Reneerbach († 1461) distinguished himself especially as author and observer. In his 'Planetentheorie' he put forward a new system of the planets, their spheres and movements, thereby inciting Copernicus to his researches. This work was for nearly a whole century the chief authority for astronomical study; up to 1581 fourteen different editions of it were published; two of them were accompanied by prefaces from Melanchthon, in 1535 and 1542 at Wittenberg.[3] Another work, equally epoch-making in the sphere of astronomy, was Peuerbach's 'Über die Sonnen- und die Mondfinsternisse,' which went through nine editions in the years 1553 and 1557, at Basle and at Neuburg.[4] An arithmetical lesson book compiled by Peuerbach ruled the book-market for a lengthy period, and was used at several universities, notably at Wittenberg, as the

[1] See our remarks, vol. xii. p. 252.
[2] Aschbach, i. 455–467; Günther, pp. 232–235.
[3] Günther, p. 236, note; Gerhardt, pp. 9–11.
[4] Aschbach, i. 490, note 3.

basis of the lectures.[1] This book also was re-edited in 1538 by Melanchthon, who ascribed it erroneously to Justus Jonas.[2]

Far more influential even than that of Peuerbach was the work of his pupil and intimate friend Regiomontanus, one of the greatest men whom Germany has ever produced.[3] He established once for all the direction in which the work of German astronomers chiefly lay, that is to say, astronomical calculation, and as its basis trigonometry. Regiomontanus' treatment of this last subject has remained unaltered, in its basic features, down to the present day.[4] His 'Ephemerides' were of standard importance for the scientific development of navigation.[5] His monumental undertaking of publishing in a collected form, with critically purged texts and necessary explanations, all the important mathematical, physical and geographical works of antiquity and of the Middle Ages, did not advance beyond its first beginnings owing to his premature death in 1476; but he had at any rate given the impulse which led in great measure to the publication at Vienna and Basle, in the first half of the sixteenth century, of the works

[1] Gerhardt, pp. 9–11. [2] Aschbach, i. 487, note.

[3] 'Regiomontanus is one of the most extraordinary men who ever lived. His comprehensive learning, which included the entire domain of mathematical science, and his burning enthusiasm for its extension, insure him a place of honour among the greatest men of Germany. He not only exercised the most powerful influence over his contemporaries, but he determined for several generations to come the direction of scientific labours.' 'It was due to the mighty impulse given by him that mathematical study, through a whole century, was at a higher level in Germany than in any other country.' Gerhardt, pp. 22, 23. ** See also Günther in the *Festschrift der* 65. *Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte*, p. 5 ff.

[4] Günther, p. 246; Gerhardt, p. 11.

[5] See our remarks, vol. i. p. 139 ff.; Gerhardt, p. 131, note.

of the most prominent mathematicians of antiquity.[1] For the regulation of the calendar Regiomontanus has remained an authority down to the present day.[2]

The place that benefited most by his untiring activity was the town of Nuremberg, where he had settled a few years before his death, and where, after the spring of 1471, he busied himself in the practical application of his mathematical and astronomical acquirements to the different branches of natural science and industry. He established a private printing press for mathematical and astronomical writings, a workshop for the construction of astronomical instruments, machinery, compasses, globes and maps, and also the first astronomical observatory in Germany.[3]

Among the numerous pupils of Regiomontanus, Martin Behaim († 1507) gained a world-wide fame as cosmographer and seafarer, while the pastor John Werner († 1528) made many new meteorological and astronomical observations, and added greatly to the importance of mathematical and physical geography.[4] Even the painter Albert Dürer could not resist the overweening attractiveness which mathematics and astronomy had acquired at Nuremberg through the influence of Regiomontanus. In his 'Unterweisung der Messung mit dem Zirkel und Richtscheit,' published in 1525, he gave the world a distinguished geometrical text-

[1] Günther, p. 248; Gerhardt, p. 135.

[2] Wolf, *Gesch. der Astronomie*, p. 95.

[3] See our remarks, vol. i. p. 141 ff.

[4] See Günther, *Studien zur Gesch. der mathematischen und physikalischen Geographie*, Halle, 1879, pp. 273–331; Wolf, p. 100; Gerhardt, pp. 23–25. ** Cf. Günther, *Martin Behaim*, Bamberg, 1890. Concerning Martin Behaim see also Günther in the above-mentioned *Festschrift*, p. 10 ff. For John Werner, *ibid.* p. 13 f

book, and paved the way for the treatment of perspective geometry; his admirably designed celestial chart, a model of the wood-cutting art, was the first work of the kind in the Western world.[1] While classical studies would by no means flourish at the gymnasium erected at Nuremberg, but on the contrary seemed likely to decay,[2] John Schöner, who by Melanchthon's advice took over in 1526 the mathematical chair at the institute, and filled it till his death in 1547, was the only one among all the lecturers who never lacked hearers.[3] Schöner was materially helped by Willibald Pirkheimer in the preparation of astronomical instruments; he compiled a series of mathematical and astronomical works, and in addition edited several of the writings left behind by Regiomontanus and John Werner.[4]

Next to Nuremberg in astronomical repute comes Vienna, the ancient centre of mathematical culture in Germany, after Maximilian I had established at the university there two regular and permanent chairs of mathematics and astronomy. Among the most distinguished representatives of these sciences at Vienna were Andrew Stöberl (Stiborius) from Öttingen in Bavaria († 1515) and his countryman and pupil George

[1] Günther, *Gesch. des mathematischen Unterrichts*, pp. 354–358; Gerhardt, pp. 25–27; Wolf, p. 423. ** See also Cantor, p. 421 f., and H. Staigmüller, *Dürer als Mathematiker*, Programm des Realgymnasiums, Stuttgart, 1891. See also *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, i. (1891) 17–31; Cantor, *A. Dürer als Schriftsteller*.

[2] See above, pp. 99-101.

[3] Heerwagen, *Zur Gesch. des Nürnberger Gelehrtenschulen*, Nuremberg, 1867, p. 11. ** For John Schöner (Schoner) see Günther in the above-named *Festschrift*, p. 17 f.

[4] Wolf, pp. 100–101. ** *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*, xxxii. 295 f. For the *Globus* of Joh. Schöner of 1520, see Kretschmer's article in the *Festschrift* on Heinrich Kiepert, *Beiträge zur alten Gesch. und Geographie*, Berlin, 1898.

Tannstetter, styled Collinitius († 1535), who introduced an entirely new branch of study—physical geography—into the academic curriculum.[1] Towards the middle of the century the renown of the Viennese mathematical school died out with John Vögelin of Heilbronn.[2]

Another scientific luminary at Vienna was Christopher Rudolf of Jauer in Silesia, a pupil of the Prince-bishop Sebastian of Brixen, who worked independently of the university. In 1525 he composed the first school book of algebra in the German language. The next year he published an arithmetic book, which, as regards arrangement, served as model for all later books of the kind, even for that of the Annaberg official Adam Riese († 1559), which had the widest circulation of any of them.[3] The Lutheran pastor Michael Stifel († 1567) prepared in 1553 a new and advanced edition of Rudolf's Algebra, and published several writings which were valuable both for theoretical and practical arithmetic; he is the last noteworthy German algebraist of the sixteenth century.[4]

In connexion with the school at Vienna, where he was educated, may be mentioned Peter Bienewitz, styled Apian, from Leisnig in Saxony. His work on cosmography, published first in 1524, and which went through numerous later editions, gained him the name of a learned cosmographer; in 1527 he was appointed 'Ordinarius of Astronomy' at the university of Ingolstadt, where he continued working till his death in 1552. Owing to his skill in the invention of astronomical instruments, Charles V made him imperial mathe-

[1] Aschbach, ii. 271–277, 374–376. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 339–343.
[3] Gerhardt, pp. 38 ff., 54 ff. ** Cantor, p. 385 ff.
[4] Gerhardt, pp. 60–74; Wolf, pp. 340–341. ** Cantor, p. 394 ff.

matician and raised him to the nobility. He did especially good service in respect to comets, and he was one of the few who openly combated the superstitious belief that comets were 'prophetic' phenomena of nature. His son and successor in the mathematical professorship, Philip Apian, was one of the best cartographers of his time. He went over to Protestantism in 1568, and was obliged to leave Ingolstadt because he would not subscribe to the Tridentine confession of faith which was imposed on all the professors of the college. He then became professor at Tübingen, but there again was deposed for refusing to accept the Formula of Concord; he died in very needy circumstances in 1589.[1]

As teacher of mathematics, physics and astronomy, the Jesuit Christopher Scheiner carried on wonderfully versatile work in Ingolstadt. He was born in 1573 at Wald, a village near Mindelheim in Suabia. In 1610–1616 he lectured, among other subjects, on spherical astronomy, on 'sundials and their construction,' on practical arithmetic and geometry, on cosmography, optics, gnomonics, and also on the making of the great telescope (originated in the Netherlands and improved by the great Italian Galileo), its importance for astronomy and its use for military purposes and field-measurement. In 1603 he invented the crane, wrote important

[1] See Günther, *Peter und Philipp Apian, zwei deutsche Mathematiker und Kartographen*, Prague, 1882; Wolf, pp. 264–266, 407–408; Wiedemann, *Aventin*, pp. 58–66; 'Die Münchener Globen Philipp Apians' in the *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte*, ii. 131–148. ** Cantor, p. 369 ff.; *Ph. Apians Topographie von Bayern*, published by the Histor. Verein von Oberbayern, Munich, 1880. H. Wagner, 'Die dritte Weltkarte P. Apians vom Jahre 1530 und die pseudo-apianische Weltkarte von 1551,' in the *Nachrichten der Gött. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* 1892, No. 16; Riezler, vi. 454 f.

commentaries on the conic section, and studied with care and successful results the anatomy of the eye and physical optics. He was the first who actually fixed the time-relations of the sun, and the position of its equator, and one of the first who discovered the spots on the sun; he, moreover, was first to recognise the important aspects of this discovery, and to incite the world to occupy itself with these phenomena. Even foreign scholars, among others the Netherlander Karl Malapertius, sought him out in order to learn from him the methods which he employed in his observations of the sun-spots. Among the large number of his pupils, his Jesuit brother and successor in the professorship at Ingolstadt, John Baptist Cysat, stands out prominently as the first discoverer of the nebulous spots in Orion's belt, and as the author of an admirable pamphlet on the comet which appeared in 1618.[1]

The liveliest interest in the great astronomical and mathematical questions which had stirred the minds of scholars since the middle of the sixteenth century was also taken by the Jesuit Christopher Schlüssel (styled Clavius) of Bamberg († 1612 at Rome). His new edition of Euclid, of the year 1574, went through several reprints at Cologne, Frankfort, Graz, Amsterdam and

[1] A. von Braumühl, *Christoph Scheiner als Mathematiker, Physiker, und Astronom*, Bamberg, 1891, and his article, 'Zur Geschichte der Entdeckung der Sonnenflecken' in the *Beilage zur Münchener Allgem. Zeitung*, 1890, No. 107. In the first publication Braumühl discusses exhaustively the controversy which had arisen on priority between Scheiner and Galileo as regards the discovery of the sun-spots. Concerning Scheiner and Cysat, see also Wolf, pp. 255, 319–320, 391–394, 409, 419, ** and Cantor, p. 633 ff. See further Trautmann's *Jahrbuch*, 1894, p. 53 f.; Riezler, vi. 466 f.; the 'Abhandlung von Schreiber über Chr. Scheiner und seine Sonnenbeobachtungen' in the *Zeitschr. Natur. u. Offenbarung*, 1903, Heft 1.

elsewhere.[1] In 1611 there appeared at Mayence a collection of Scheiner's 'Mathematical Works' in five folio volumes. In these he deals, among other things, with plane and spherical trigonometry, with practical geometry, practical arithmetic and algebra, and with the construction and use of sundials, the theory of which he determined more accurately than had yet been done. His widest renown was gained by his writings on the new Gregorian Calendar, which he defended against the attacks of the Protestants.[2] With the Copernican system he was not in agreement, because he considered it impossible that, as Copernicus taught, the earth could have more than one motion at the same time.

Nicholas Copernicus, the creator of the new astronomy, was born at Thorn on February 19, 1473. His father, 'Niklas Coppernigk,' was probably of Slavonian, his mother, Barbara Watzelrode, of German origin. At Cracow, where (1491 till about 1494) he studied contemporaneously with James Köbel of Königsberg, famous for his writings on the astrolabe, he had the best opportunity for hearing lectures on all the branches of mathematics, and he became thoroughly initiated in the art of manipulating astronomical instruments. His further education was pursued at Bologna and Padua,

[1] ** Concerning the edition of Euclid by Clavius and the high appreciation it received, Cantor says (p. 512): 'Seldom has such high appreciation been deserved in an equally high degree.' 'Clavius, in a volume rich both in scope and in contents, has connected together what earlier editors and expounders have dealt out in scattered fragments. He has exercised keen powers of criticism in this collection, and has discovered and destroyed all errors. He has not been scared out of his path by any single difficulty. He has dealt much and successfully in original explanation.'

[2] De Backer, i. 1291–1295.

and in 1500 he gave lectures on astronomy at Rome before an imposing circle of listeners, gained great distinction, and was ranked side by side with Regiomontanus. The later years of his life were spent chiefly as prebendary at Frauenburg. His chief work on 'The Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies' ('De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium'), at which he had worked since 1509, was not published till shortly before his death on May 24, 1543. By the advice of his friend Bishop Tiedemann Giese, he had dedicated this work to Pope Paul III. 'It seems to me,' he wrote to the latter, 'that this work, if I am not altogether mistaken, will also be of service to the welfare of the Church, the highest control of which is in your hands.' [1]

The principal statements in which Copernicus embodied the results of his researches and observations are as follows: 'The world and the earth have the shape of a globe; the centre of the universe is the sun, which stands still, and round it the planets, of which the earth is one, revolve; the earth has a double movement, a daily one round its own axis and a yearly one round the sun.' 'In no other way,' he said, 'have I been able to arrive at such wonderful and beautiful symmetry in the universe, such harmonious connexion of orbits, as by placing the world-luminary, the sun, as on a kingly throne in the middle of the magnificent temple of nature, governing all the stars and planets circling around him.'

[1] Wolf, pp. 222–242; Hipler, pp. 9–53; Bruhns' article on 'Copernicus' in the *Allgem. d utschen Biographie*, iv. 461–469, at the conclusion of which the more detailed literature about Copernicus is quoted from; see also the article on 'Copernicus' in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, iii². 1079 ff. ** and the monograph of Prowe, 2 vols., Berlin, 1883–1884, as well as the valuable pamphlet of A. Müller, *Nikolaus Kopernikus*, Freiburg, 1898.

This new system of the universe caused indescribable excitement, and most of the mathematicians and astronomers, physicists, philosophers and theologians of the century assumed towards it an adverse, if not a hostile, position.

Among the few on the Protestant side who stood firmly on the side of Copernicus was George Joachim, styled Rhäticus after his birth-place Feldkirch, then included in Rhaetia, professor of mathematics at the university of Wittenberg. He had spent two years (1539–1541) with Copernicus in Frauenburg, and he held it to be the greatest good fortune for his whole life to have become closely acquainted with that 'greatest and most wonderful of men'; [1] he contributed the first accurate account of the system of Copernicus, and prepared the work of Copernicus for the press. On the basis of the observations and calculations of Copernicus Erasmus Reinhold, professor of mathematics at Wittenberg (1536–1553), compiled his own work, afterwards so famous, 'Neue astronomische (sog. Prutenische) Tafeln'; nevertheless he did not adopt the system of Copernicus; his pupil and successor at Wittenberg, Caspar Peucer, distinguished himself by various astronomical works, but clung firmly to the belief that the earth was the centre of the universe. The Copernican system, he said, was absurd and untrue; it could not be put forward without giving offence.[2]

The hostility of the Wittenberg theologians was very decided. Luther called Copernicus 'a fool who wanted to upset the whole science of astronomy. But as the Holy Scripture teaches, Joshua told the

[1] Hipler, p. 49. ** Cf. Prowe, i. 1, 387 ff.
[2] Schuster, p. 86.

sun to stand still and not the globe of the earth.'[1] Melanchthon also, although he had zealously studied mathematics, physics and astronomy, and sought to promote these studies at the Wittenberg university,[2] did not speak more favourably of the new system of the universe; he could not reconcile it with the Bible and with his own theological opinions.[3] At Tübingen the mathematical professor Michel Mästlin, who had laboured there with unusual activity since 1583, was restrained by fear of the theologians from openly teaching the doctrines of Copernicus, of the truth of which he was fully persuaded, and he kept to the old Ptolemaic system.[4]

A valiant champion of Copernicus, however, arose in Mästlin's pupil, John Kepler, the pride of Germany. Born on December 27, 1571, at 'Weil der Stadt' in needy circumstances, Kepler had a joyless youth. After attending the convent school at Adelberg and the higher school at Maulbronn, he went in 1589 to the

[1] See Hipler, p. 8.

[2] Bernhardt, *Philipp Melanchthon als Mathematiker und Physiker*, Wittenberg, 1865. ** See also L. Hofmann, 'Melanchthon als Mathematiker und Physiker' *Prakt. Physik*, pp. 275 ff., 332 f.; H. Nentwig, *Die Physik an der Universität Helmstadt*, Wolfenbüttel, 1891, p. 13 ff.; and Bernhardt, *Melanchthon als Mathematiker und Physiker*, Wittenberg, 1897.

[3] Fuller details are given in Beckmann, 'Forschungen zur Geschichte des Kopernikanischen Systems,' in the *Zeitschr. für die Gesch. Ermlands*, vols. ii. and iii. To this work of Beckmann we owe the confirmation of the statement that the opposition to the Copernican system emanated from Wittenberg, and was carried on by Wittenberg down to the most recent times; see Hipler, p. 8, note.

[4] Gerhardt, p. 74. 'At this period the universities were not places where free scientific life could flourish, because, in consequence of the Reformation, theological disputes were almost the sole subject of interest. Orthodox zealots in matters of faith clung firmly to traditional opinions, and persecuted and suppressed all free scientific thought and innovation.'

university at Tübingen, where he obtained free admission in the government 'Foundation school' for the study of theology. He devoted himself with all diligence to his particular line of study, but at the same time turned with immense zest, under the guidance of Mästlin, to mathematical and astronomical research, and wrote a special treatise in favour of the earth's rotation round its axis. This brought him into most evil repute with his theological instructors, who very soon pronounced him unfit for the service of the Church.

Kepler accordingly, in 1594, accepted a post offered him as State mathematician at the Protestant communal gymnasium at Graz, where, however, mathematical study was so little thought of that by the second year he was already almost without pupils. 'In order that he should not receive his salary for nothing,' as the Styrian Estates expressed it in 1595, 'he was instructed to teach "Virgil and rhetoric" as well, and to draw up the provincial calendar with the meteorological and political prognostications.' [1]

So then he began to investigate the secrets of astrology, and because in the case of his first calendar of 1595 he had the good fortune to see his prediction of peasant disturbances and of an exceptionally severe winter fulfilled, he soon came to be regarded as an expert astrologer, and numbers of the nobility employed

[1] Concerning the aversion of the Protestant nobility to science, C. Zehentmayer, Protestant secretary to the Styrian delegates, wrote to Kepler: 'Would that there were but a few among our nobles who knew how to appreciate the sciences, and who did not express aversion to desirable knowledge. Because they live on in dense ignorance of everything and their judgment is stunted by their want of culture, they hate all learning, and care for no one so little as for scholars and men distinguished by their acquirements.' Hurter, *Ferdinand II.* i. 511–512.

him to cast their 'nativities' and to foretell their future destinies. 'Astrology,' he wrote, 'is a foolish little daughter; but, goodness me, what would become of her mother, august astronomy, if she did not possess this idiotic daughter? And the world is still more idiotic—so idiotic indeed that, for its benefit, this old and intelligent mother must be wheedled, cajoled, and solicited through her daughter "Folly," and the salaries of mathematicians are so meagre that the mother would certainly starve if the daughter did not earn something.'

At many of the universities the mathematicians or astronomers could only maintain a livelihood by astrology, or at any rate they were compelled to resort to making 'prognostications' to eke out their living.[1] Lectures on 'nativities' were actually held at the universities—for instance, in 1563, by Professor Schönhorn at Wittenberg.[2] 'He who is reduced to poverty is a slave,' wrote Kepler to his patron George Herwart von Hohenburg, Catholic chancellor of the Duke of Bavaria, in September 1599, 'but nobody becomes a slave willingly. Though I sometimes cast nativities and draw up calendars, still the work is to me intolerable slavery, but it is necessary; in order to retain my yearly income, my title, and my residence, I must be at the service of ignorant curiosity.'[3]

When Herwart, two years earlier, had wanted to open up relations with Kepler, he employed the Father, Christopher Grienberger, professor of mathematics

[1] Wolf, pp. 82–83, 285. Schuster, pp. 1–5, 13–14. See our remarks, vol. xii. p. 255 ff.

[2] Grohmann, i. 186.

[3] Schuster, p. 205. ** Concerning G. H. von Hohenburg cf. now Riezler, vi. 463 f.

at the Graz Jesuit College as intermediary.[1] For Kepler stood in friendly relations with the Jesuits, even after he had seen fit to leave Graz on account of the religious regulations issued for Styria by the Archduke Ferdinand.[2] The Jesuits remained always his loyal patrons, and supported him with all their might in his mathematical-astronomical works. Through their distribution over all regions of the earth, through the brisk interchange of correspondence, which went on especially between their numerous astronomers and mathematicians, and through the zeal with which they devoted themselves to these particular studies, they had at their command a rich and choice treasury of observations. This treasure they shared ungrudgingly with the Protestant astronomer in order that he might exercise his rare gift of combination for the benefit of science, and they rejoiced when fresh brilliant services heightened his fame. Kepler, on his side, was heartily thankful to the Jesuits for all their efforts and responded with sincere friendship.[3]

From his fellow Lutherans, on the other hand, he did not get the slightest support ; he strove in vain to obtain a post at his home in Württemberg ; he was placed under the ban because he refused subscription to the Formula

[1] C. Anschütz, *Unjedruckte wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zwischen Johann Kepler und Herwart von Hohenburg*, Prague, 1886, p. 4.

[2] See our remarks, vol. ix. p. 397 ff.

[3] In verification of the above statement there is an abundance of unanswerable passages in the article 'Kepler und die Jesuiten' in the *Beilage des Grazer Volksblattes*, 1886, Nos. 214–229, and in Schuster, pp. 194–230. From these passages it comes out further that on the part of the Jesuits there was no question of objectionable proselytising. Concerning other Catholic patrons and supporters of Kepler (Archbishop Ernest of Cologne, the abbots of Admont and Kremsmünster, &c., &c.) see Schuster, pp. 192–193.

of Concord, and described as a crack-brained fool by the chief ecclesiastical board of Württemberg and the Stuttgart Consistorium.[1] By the Protestants it was regarded as a falling off from the 'pure evangel' that Kepler was a decided advocate of the improved Gregorian Calendar, and that he said to his former tutor Michael Mästlin, a passionate opponent of this calendar: 'It is a disgrace for the Germans: they were the first to discover the art of improving calendars, and now they'—*i.e.* the Protestant Germans—'are the only people who do not adopt this present improvement.'[2]

On the recommendation of Herwart von Hohenburg Kepler repaired in 1600 to the imperial court of Rudolf II at Prague, and in the following year, on the death of the famous Danish astronomer Tycho de Brahe, was appointed his successor in the office of court mathematician and director of the imperial observatory. In his Lutheran faith he was as little interfered with as was the Swiss Jost Bürgi, the improver of trigonometrical tables, and the inventor of decimal fractions, logarithms and the pendulum, who had worked at an earlier period in the observatory erected at Cassel by the Hessian Landgrave William IV, and who since 1603 had lived at Prague, simultaneously and in connexion with Kepler, and had occupied the post of chamber clockmaker to the Emperor.[3]

[1] Cf. P. Stark, 'Joh. Kepler, sein Verhältniss zur schwäbischen Heimat, 1596–1619' in Niedner's *Zeitschr. für histor. Theologie*, xxxviii. 3–8; Schuster, pp. 138–190.

[2] Concerning the calendar disputes and Kepler's position with regard to them see our account, vol. x. p. 52 ff.

[3] Wolff, pp. 273 ff., 370 ff., and his essay *Joh. Kepler und Jost Bürgi* (Zurich, 1872). Gerhardt, pp. 75–83, 116–120.

For Kepler the period of his residence at Prague was the actual golden epoch of scientific labours. He worked in the full consciousness that 'he was serving not only the Emperor, but the whole human race, not labouring for the present only but for posterity also.' 'If God stands by me and provides for the expenses, I hope to accomplish something.'

This 'something' was no less than the discovery of the three laws, called after him, through which the true course of the orbits, the velocity of motion, and the harmonious interconnexion of the planets, and of the planets with the sun, were determined and explained. It was by means of these laws that the Copernican system of the universe was first mathematically established.[1]

The publication of the work in which Copernicus set forth this system was helped on most zealously by Cardinal Nicholas Schönberg and the Catholic bishop Tiedemann Giese of Ermland. Pope Paul III had accepted the dedication of the book to himself, and under thirteen popes (from Paul III to Paul V) it had been allowed to be freely read and circulated through the whole of Catholic Christendom; but after the great mathematical-astronomical questions had passed into the domain of Biblical exegesis, there followed, in 1616, a decretal of the Roman Index Congregation to the effect that 'The work of Copernicus must be suspended until it has been improved'—*i.e.* until those passages had been amended in which he spoke, not hypothe-

[1] Gerhardt, pp. 100–112. 'Thus to Rudolf belongs the glory, while he was letting the Empire go to pieces, of having placed on his right footing the man whose lot it was to point out the order of the universe.' K. A. Menzel, iii. 155.

tically, but in a distinctly assertive manner, concerning the movements of the earth.[1]

[1] See on this subject the passages quoted by Wolf, p. 252, from an Index decree of 1620; see also what John Remus wrote to Kepler concerning the origin and the significance of the decree of 1616, in Schuster, p. 128 note. Kepler himself explained the blustering zeal of certain men, who had proclaimed astronomical dogmas in unsuitable places and in a clumsy manner, as the reason why the decree of 1616 had inhibited the reading of Copernicus, which for eighty years had gone on freely and without interdiction, 'until this work has been corrected'; the *suspensio* would be removed as soon as the Copernican system had been established by clear proofs and recognised as true. Schuster, pp. 131–134. ** See also, now, Müller, *Copernicus*, p. 125 ff. Bossert ('Die Wirkung der Reformation auf Schule und Bildung nach Janssen' in the *Allgem. Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchenzeitung*, Jahrgang 27. [1894], p. 702) makes the remark, difficult to characterise aright: 'It goes without saying that Pastor prides himself vastly on the Catholic Copernicus. Delightful also is his embarrassment concerning the judgment of the Index Congregation; he takes good care also not to say a word as to how long the work of Copernicus was on the Index. The readers may find that out elsewhere.' Bossert, also, on his part, is careful not to say a word to his unsuspecting readers as to how the Protestant theologians behaved to Copernicus; that, too, they may 'learn elsewhere,' but not from the wicked Janssen-Pastor.

CHAPTER V

NATURAL SCIENCE

THE study of natural science proper was at a very low ebb in Germany at the close of the Middle Ages. There prevailed almost everywhere in the land those marvellous views of the phenomena of nature which are as poetical as they are unscientific.[1] All the different animals and plants, like the minerals, were endowed with the strangest magic qualities and powers; without the least thought or consideration, the most improbable and extraordinary reports handed down from the past on these subjects were taken in perfect faith and trust. The first essential element of natural science study—systematic observation of facts—was altogether absent. In accordance with this low level of nature-knowledge its separate branches, each of which later on often claimed for itself the whole energy of some investigator, were then undifferentiated. The various sciences of minerals, plants and animals were almost always combined in one work, and only dealt with in view of some possible substantial benefit to mankind. Knowledge of natural products was considered a secondary matter, and it was only their action and effects in medicinal and pharmaceutical respects which received attention. Hence it was

[1] Grimm, *Altdeutsche Wälder*, Frankfort, 1816, iii. 36; Holland, *Gesch. der deutschen Literatur*, p. 162.

chiefly medical men who wrote about minerals and plants, while animals only enlisted interest as wonderful creations of God. The greater the value set on uncritical reiteration of the traditions of ancestors, the less thought was given to the observation of nature. Only very slowly did a change for the better take place in this respect.

In mineralogy, in the first half of the sixteenth century, work of immense significance was carried on by a scholar who, through all the storms of the period, remained a true son of the old Church ; this was George Agricola. This highly important man, one of the greatest naturalists of all ages, first saw the light on March 24, 1494,[1] at Glauchau in Saxony. In accordance with the custom of the time he exchanged his German family name of Bauer at the university of Leipzig for the Latin name Agricola. At this renowned university the gifted young man pursued philological studies, attending specially the lectures of the famous Petrus Mosellanus. By recommendation of this scholar, Agricola, a bachelor of only twenty-five years of age, was chosen, on the enlargement of the Zwickau Latin school in 1519, to be its 'rector extraordinarius,' and teacher of the Greek language. At Zwickau the young philologist, already active in literary work, began to interest himself in mineralogy and mines. In 1522, however, he left this post in order to become 'Lector' to his friend and patron Mosellanus. After the death of this excellent man Agricola made a journey

[1] Not 1490, as Adelung in the sequel to Jöcher's *Gelehrtenlexicon*, i. (Leipzig, 1471), Gümbel in the *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*, i. 143, and Cotta, *Gesch. der Geologie*, p. 10, maintain.

to Italy, during which he exchanged philology for medicine. After a thorough course of study at Bologna, Venice and Ferrara, having taken his doctor's degree in the last-named town, he went back home at the end of 1526. The very next year he entered on the post of town physician in the mining town Joachimsthal.[1] According to his own confession Agricola wished to settle in a mining district in order, as a physician, to become acquainted with the true constitution of the metal containing plaister of the ancients.[2]

The choice of this new abode became of decisive importance for the further scientific labours of Agricola. At the close of the Middle Ages great impulse was given to the mining industry by the discovery of a large number of new copper layers; in quick succession there sprang up a series of mining towns, such as Schneeberg in 1471, Annaberg in 1497, Joachimsthal in 1516, Marienburg in 1521, Gottesgab and Platten about 1532.[3] Since 1516 silver mines had flourished to an extraordinary extent; a poor miner, who was at work along with his wife, is said to have dug up at one stroke incredibly large sums. In 1518 the coin known by the name of Joachimsthaler were stamped; in 1520 the place was raised to the rank of a free mining town.[4]

[1] See Schmid. p. 12 f.; Jacobi, p. 2 ff.; Laube, p. 92 ff.; see also E. Herzog, 'G. Agricola,' in the *Mitteilungen des Freiberger Altertums-vereins*, 1865, p. 365 f.; Eckardt, 'Agricola,' in the *Freiberger Bergkalender*, 1873; Schrauf, *Über den Einfluss des Bergsegens auf die Entstehung der mineralogischen Wissenschaft im Anfang des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1894; F. Falk in the *Histor.-polit. Blätter*, cxiii. 140 f. on G. Agricola and J. Hass. The following authorities were not accessible to me: R. Hofmann, *Dr. G. Agricola of Glaichau, der Vater der Mineralogie*, separate reprint from the *Schönburg Geschichtsbl.* iv. Glaichau, 1897; 'Briefe von G. Agricola,' in Weber, *Virorum clarorum saec. xvi. et xvii. epistolae selectae*, Lipsiae, 1894.

[2] Schrauf, p. 88. [3] Cf. Laube, p. 75; Schrauf, pp. 88 and 89.

[4] Jacobi, p. 9 f., and Laube, p. 78.

In consequence of the active mining life going on in his immediate neighbourhood, Agricola's preference for mineralogical research was rekindled. Soon every hour which he could spare from his medical calling was devoted to the study of mineralogy, metallurgy and geology. His position as a doctor brought him into intimate relations with the miners from whom this man, ever thirsting for knowledge, obtained a mass of information otherwise difficult to get, and often hidden under the mantle of secrecy. The presence of silver in combination with countless other minerals 'was especially favourable to the mineralogical schooling of Agricola, who began with the study of metals, but soon set himself to find out the specific differences of all minerals in order to be able to determine them rightly.' [1] 'He studied indefatigably all the different ores obtained from the mines, the conditions of their presence and the methods of production, observed with true understanding and with great penetration how the ores dug out of the mines were turned to good account by smelting processes, and compared everything which he had observed for himself with all that the collective literature of the most ancient times had said on the subject.' The result of these studies was the conviction that 'all that had actually been handed down by the ancients was the nomenclature, and that the ancients themselves mostly knew these names only from hearsay; at any rate that what had been written by them did not fit in with present conditions, and that in order to bring the nomenclature and the few scraps of information to bear on something tangible, it was necessary to settle which were respectively the most suitable ores and

[1] Schrauf, p. 92.

minerals for particular names—*i.e.* not to give names to objects, but, *vice versa*, to fit objects to names.' [1]

It stamped Agricola as a classical scholar that he published the results of his mineralogical studies in the form of a Latin dialogue under the title 'Bermannus, or of the Nature of Metals.' [2] In spite of his humanistic culture, in the preface to this dialogue, he blames, and justly so, the one-sided linguistic tendency of the age. The efforts of single individuals, he allows, had been successful in revivifying the study of philology, but the study of nature, which comprised everything that we can explore with our senses and our minds, had been to a great extent neglected. The contents of the dialogue are as follows. Two medical doctors, well versed in the writings of the ancients, Nicholas Ancon and John Näve, converse with Laurence Bergmannus, whose father was a miner. They begin with discussing the origin of German mining, the principal mining districts, the names of the pits and the machinery, and the local conditions. The conversation then turns on the different ores which have been obtained from the Joachimsthal mines. 'First of all there is lead which they discuss, settling the definitions of the metal and of the metal-like ore; then quartz, concerning which they have heard many different, widely divergent opinions, and about which Bermannus gives them useful information from his own experience; next comes the turn of silver ore, and later on of silver itself. Step by step these learned men come nearer to the conviction that what had been

[1] Gümbel in the *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*, i. 144, and Laube, p. 94.

[2] *Bermannus, sive de re metallica* (translated into German by F. A. Schmid, Freiberg, 1806). For the date of publication see Jacobi, p. 65.

handed down by the ancient classical nations corresponded very little to actual facts, and that there was more to be done away with in this respect than they had ever expected. Silver ore was scarcely known by the ancients, solid silver not at all, and to the six already known metals the Joachimsthal mines had added a seventh—bismuth. Then, at last, Näve himself speaks out and says: 'So much at least is certain, the otherwise learned Pliny had been quite ignorant of a great deal, and, with the exception of what he had seen in Spain, he had copied everything from the Greeks.' Nor do they for a moment conceal how obscure and unsatisfying all the other medical writers were; the consideration of cinnabar and similar mineral bodies affords the opportunity for showing up their professional brothers. Their talk, however, is not confined to ores, it extends to other kinds of minerals named by the ancients, gypsum, chalk, lithomarge, vitriol, &c., and they ask about the conditions of their presence, their characteristics, and practical applicability. Finally, while acknowledging how through the supineness of the medical profession with regard to natural history the art of healing had sadly declined, they come to the laudable resolution to continue the studies herewith begun. Just as Galen travelled over the East in order to study, on the spot, the nature and properties of the healing minerals which had been named by Dioscorides, so they would make themselves acquainted with the mineral substances of their own country by personal observation, in order that, without further troubling themselves about anyone who should see in such a course an offence against the respect and gratitude due to the

ancient Greeks, they might establish a new basis for the medical art.[1]

Through this 'dialogue' Agricola became the father of modern scientific mineralogy. The immense progress made by the Meissen scholar is best appreciated by a comparison with the much famed 'Bergbüchlein' (mine booklet): 'Ein wolgeordnet und nutzlich Büchlein, wie man Bergwerck suchen und finden sol, von allerley Metall mit seinen Figuren nach Gelegenheyt des Gebirges artlych angezeygt, mit anhangenden Bercknamen, den anfahrenden Bergleuten vast dienstlich' ('A well-arranged and useful Booklet, showing how to search for and find Mines; about all Sorts of Metals and their Figures, and their lay in the Mountains, with an Appendix of Mining Terms very serviceable to Beginning Miners').

The author of this, the oldest German mining book, is unknown; it was printed in 1518 by Peter Schöffer at Worms.[2] After a preface in the form of a dialogue between an expert miner (Daniel) and a youth (Knappius), the pamphlet deals in six sections with the origin of ores, the nature of the veins of silver, gold, tin, copper, iron, lead and quicksilver ores; then follows an explanation of mining terms and phraseology, and a short commentary on the process of smelting.

This list of contents is in itself enough to show that

[1] Laube, p. 95; cf. Schrauf, p. 87 f.

[2] An exact reproduction of the *Bergbüchlein*, to which facsimiles of the old woodcuts are also added, was contributed by H. von Dechen, *Das älteste deutsche Bergwerksbuch*, a reprint from the *Zeitschr. für Bergrecht*. Bonn, 1885. See also the article by Daubrée in the *Journal des Savants*, Juin-Juillet, 1890. Concerning the magic powers ascribed in the Middle Ages to stones, especially to precious stones, see the interesting article by A. Kaufmann in the *Monatschrift für Gesch. Westdeutschlands*, vi. (1880) 112 ff.

the book is not written for mineralogists, but only for practical working miners. Agricola, on the contrary, writes from the point of view that 'the healing art also demands its share in the treasures dug out of the earth; he takes into account also other minerals besides those necessary for the production of metals, and declares that here lies outspread before us a field of science little known to the ancients, which it behoves us to explore independently.' Therewith the basis of scientific mineralogy was laid; Joachimsthal was destined to be its cradle, a German doctor its father.[1]

In addition to his natural science researches, Agricola also occupied himself with historical and political studies. The appearance of the Turks before Vienna in 1529 incited him to take up the Oriental question, and thus arose his fiery oration addressed to King Ferdinand I on war against the Turks. It was written down in Latin in 1529, at once translated into German, and in 1531 published in German by Lorenz Bermann.[2] In the introduction the author expresses his fears of a fresh attack from the Turks in the fol-

[1] Laube, p. 98. Cf. *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte Böhmens, Lit.-Beil.* 1885, p. 24 f., where it is shown convincingly that Agricola was not the author of the pamphlet, *Der Ursprung gemeyner Berckrecht.*

[2] *Oration, Anrede und Vormanunge zu . . . Ferdinandum . . . Auch allen Churfürsten und Fürsten des heyligen Römischen Reichs, Georgii Agricole von Kriegsrüstung und Heerzuge widder den Türcken geschrieben, aus dem Latein ins Teutzsch gebracht. MDXXXI.* At the end: 'Wolfgang Stöckel' (therefore Dresden), 24 Bl. 4°. The preface of the interpreter to the reader, dated December 29, 1529, calls Agricola 'the medicine doctor or physicus or town doctor in the mining town Joachimsthal.' At the end there is a dedication by Laurence Bermann to King Ferdinand, dated Joachimsthal, March 15, 1531, which says that 'Agricola in this dialogue well illustrates his diligence on behalf of the Fatherland.' Whether Bermann was also the translator is not mentioned. A second German edition appeared at Nuremberg in 1531; the Latin original not till 1538 at Basle.

lowing year. For this reason he means to summon Germany to war. In the first section he sets forth the justice, easiness, and utility of such a war. It is a question of the welfare and freedom of the German Fatherland. Besides which 'our most holy religion and faith is in danger, and if we are compelled to renounce these, what have we to hope for after this life?' With great eloquence Agricola then describes the cruelties perpetrated by the Turks. And here, with evident allusion to certain utterances of Luther, he has a fling at 'those frenzied priests who say openly that we should receive the Turks with open arms as the sole executors of justice.' He then discusses more in detail that war would not only be just, but also easy to carry on. In order to substantiate this statement Agricola proceeds 'to relate something about the German lands and their power, which, although it is held to be of no account by certain foreigners, who (as commonly happens) praise up their own doings and belittle ours, nevertheless will speak for itself, and prove itself to be true and not invented out of partiality and love for the Fatherland.' Then follows a spirited description of Germany, first of its greatness, and secondly of its products. Here the mineralogist at once betrays himself. No country, says Agricola, has such a wealth of subterranean treasures. 'For who is there who is ignorant of the copper mines and the silver—dug out solid—of the lands of Meissen and Bohemia? To whom are the mines in the valley of the Adige (Tyrol) unknown? Who is there who has never heard of the Silesian metal? There are also numbers of iron mines in German lands, and rivers and streams abounding in gold. Now is not metal

used for making coins, which are the merchant's treasure and the support of war? Is not metal made into weapons with which we protect ourselves and injure our enemies? Therefore Germany can and may not be unequipped for war.' Further, Germany was fruitful in corn, rich in wine, and in animals both tame and wild. Agricola lavishes especial praise on the warlike capacities of his countrymen. 'The Germans are born soldiers, others have to be trained into soldiery.' After the author has recalled the warlike heroism of the ancient Germans, he again sets forth the facility and the usefulness of war. The Germans 'if they are not obliged to fight outside their own country seek among themselves reasons for war. If, then, you would free Germany from internal fighting and robbery, equip yourselves with arms against the Turks.' In such a campaign there would also be great riches to be acquired. It must not, however, be conducted on the vicious plan, hitherto pursued, of only defending the boundaries. This had been proved useless. A large and powerful army must invade the enemy's country, and moreover it must do so the very next spring. From love of the Fatherland, Germans should seek to bridge over the dissensions in faith which had now reached such a pitch that it seemed as if they would divide the German nation for all eternity. 'Therefore,' he urged, 'for the sake of the Fatherland and in the name of Christ, let your first concern be to set aside the civil discord which reigns among you, and to unite together in a war against the enemy in his own country, and not to desist from fighting until the Turk has been driven out of Europe, and out of Africa where he rules over Egypt, and utterly demolished in Asia. All which

it lies in your power to accomplish by the grace of God. And if you are too weak for the enterprise, you must look out for help, concerning which I will say a few words in conclusion.' His advice on this point was to join with other Christian kings and nations of Europe, who would also be exposed to greater danger should Germany succumb.

This splendid address, perfect in form and full of swing and movement, is a standing monument of Agricola's patriotism. The fire of his enthusiasm for his German Fatherland, his lively sense of the grandeur and importance of the Holy Roman Empire, are also seen in other passages of his writings.[1]

Agricola's love for his German Fatherland was equalled by his devotion to the old Church. As a young man he had, it is true, like many of his contemporaries, taken exception to Tetzel's proclamation of indulgences, and had written a Latin epigram against it.[2] As soon, however, as he realised whither the Lutheran movement was tending, he came forward as an open and loyal professor and valiant defender of Catholic doctrine. 'His philosophical and theological studies had also brought him into acquaintance with the Fathers of the Church, and taught him the contrast between Protestant teaching and the old Church of earlier centuries; at the same he saw all around him the moral effects produced by the new religion, and thus, through his knowledge of the past as well as of the present, he was confirmed in his adherence to the Catholic religion.'[3]

[1] See Jacobi, p. 42.

[2] Reprinted in Becher, p. 58.

[3] Döllinger, i. 581–582. Schmid (*Agricolas Bermannus*, p. 26) thinks 'Agricola's adhesion to the old Church enigmatical.' Adam (*Vitae*

Since 1534 Agricola had been acting as town physician at Chemnitz, where, amid almost general apostasy from Catholicism, he set, till his death, an ever-memorable example of fidelity to the Church of his fathers. The literary skill of this versatile scholar was also used against the religious innovators in a pamphlet on apostolic traditions, which, however, remained unprinted. He also still found time for historical work, as well as for antiquarian researches, beyond the ordinary measure of old age. But now, as before, his mind still turned chiefly to mineralogy. He sought in every way to extend his knowledge in this department, still so little explored. He kept up the liveliest intercourse with experienced miners, with far-travelling merchants, with scholars of every sort—even with those of Protestant opinions; from all directions people sent him specimens of minerals. In the preface to one of his own writings he says himself that he made it his business to procure both in Germany and from other European countries, and even from some districts of Asia and Africa, every scrap of information he could get on minerals.[1]

The results of these widespread researches he had made accessible to the scientific world, since 1544, in a series of highly important works. Almost every year there appeared from the pen of this indefatigable scholar a pamphlet on either mineralogy or geology; as

Medic. 76; cf. Becher, p. 61) wrote in 1620: 'The many ill-considered steps of many Lutheran scholars and authors, the objectionable lives of many adherents of the purified teaching, the fanatical cruelty of the Peasant war and of the iconoclasts, finally the abolition of all outward cer monial in the Church service consequent on the Reformation, were enough to prevent Agricola from ever becoming evangelical.'

[1] See Jacobi, p. 52.

for instance in 1544 a treatise, 'Über die Entstehungsursachen der unterirdischen Körper, und Erscheinungen,' in which the main lines of physical geology are laid down; in the following year a treatise, 'Über die Beschaffenheit der Erdausflüsse.' [1] Both pamphlets are dedicated to Duke Maurice of Saxony, who paid the author a yearly stipend and elected him burgomaster of Chemnitz.[2] In 1546 Agricola published 'the first description of minerals on a systematic plan, complete according to the then condition of knowledge, classified according to their external characteristics of colour, transparence, taste, smell, hardness, weight and form, and divided into "simple" and "compound" according to their chemical and physical properties; with comments on their economical use, and information as to their presence in different localities.' [3] This pamphlet on minerals [4] 'is the first school book on mineralogy; minerals of every kind, precious and common, useful and useless, are all treated in the same manner.' This work contains almost all the principles which are still applied to-day in the classification of new, not yet analysed, minerals.[5] In the same year there appeared also Agricola's work 'On the Metals of Antiquity

[1] Becher, p. 22; Günther, *Geophysik*, Stuttgart, 1884, i. 15.

[2] In 1552 Agricola was deprived of the post of burgomaster. 'According to the general report,' says Jacobi (p. 3), 'this happened on account of his double-faced attitude on the occasion of a threatened siege of Chemnitz by Duke Maurice's troops. The matter has not yet been decisively cleared up, nor will it be until in Chemnitz itself fresh accounts are discovered in the town archives; and this seems unlikely, as the documents in question were already accessible to Richter.' The probability is, as Lehmann (*Chronik von Chemnitz*, Schneeberg, 1843) assumes, that Agricola was a victim to his zeal for Catholicism.

[3] Gümbel in the *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*, i. 144; see Jacobi, p. 33 f.

[4] *De natura fossilium libri* 10, Basileae, 1546. [5] Schrauf, p. 93.

and of Modern Times,' which has become a model for the statistics of mineralogy and for the history of mining.[1]

Like all Agricola's writings, these books are classic in form and expression, pithy, vigorous, graceful and vivacious. They all show a distinguished gift of observation.[2] In some matters Agricola is still indeed so thoroughly a child of his period that he believes, for instance, in mountain sprites, whilst on other points he is distinguished by remarkable perspicuity and sobriety. Thus, for instance, he says on the subject of wishing-rods: 'The miner, as an intelligent man and one acquainted with nature, knows better than to waste his time on such things.' With astrology also the great naturalist of Meissen would have nothing to do; later on, too, he completely gave up his alchemist views.[3]

A man who had so far outstripped his epoch could not fail to have enemies. It was, however, for his fidelity to the old Catholic Church that Agricola had to suffer most. But he did not let himself be led astray, as his bishop, Nicholas of Carlowitz, recognises with praise in a letter of March 2, 1555: 'I consider it extraordinarily praiseworthy of you,' the bishop writes, 'to keep, as you do, out of all the heresies around you, and to remain true to the Holy Apostolic Church. It is impossible that any man can have God for his Father who does not recognise the Catholic Church as his mother.'[4] Shortly after the receipt of this letter he again had an opportunity of defending the old Church

[1] The opinion of Schrauf, p. 94. [2] Becher, p. 19.
[3] Jacobi, pp. 25, 32, 34; Schmieder, p. 270; Schrauf, p. 86.
[4] Reprinted in Schmid, p. 25, note.

bravely in a strife with Protestants. In consequence of the conflict the veteran mineralogist had an attack of apoplexy, which led to his death on October 23, 1555. Sectarian hatred followed the great scholar, whom the Protestant George Fabricius called the ornament of the whole Fatherland, even beyond the grave. The preacher and superintendent John Tettelbach at once declared that Agricola as a papist must not be buried within the precincts of the town, and the Elector Augustus of Saxony ratified the decision.[1]

For five whole days the mortal remains of the immortal mineralogist, the founder of all modern European mineralogy,[2] lay unburied, till Bishop Julius of Pflug had them removed for honourable interment in the abbey church of the neighbouring village of Zeitz. A handsome memorial stone was placed over his grave with the inscription :

IN MEMORY OF
GEORGE AGRICOLA,
PHYSICIAN AND TOWN COUNCILLOR, DISTINGUISHED BY HIS PIETY AND HIS LEARNING, AND HIS GREAT SERVICES TO HIS FATHERLAND ; WHOSE WRITINGS HAVE MADE HIS NAME IMMORTAL, AND WHOSE SOUL CHRIST THE LORD HAS TAKEN INTO THE EVERLASTING DWELLING-PLACE.
BY HIS SORROWING WIDOW AND CHILDREN.[3]

[1] Döllinger, i. 583 f., where other examples are cited in proof that people who adhered to the old Church in Protestantised towns were either refused burial or buried ignominiously.

[2] So Becher calls him. See also concerning Agricola's scientific importance, Jacobi, p. 26 f. ; Laube, p. 97 ; Marx, *Gesch. der Kristallkunde*, Karlsruhe, 1825, p. 19 ; Cotta, *Gesch. der Geologie*, p. 10.

[3] Becher, p. 64. How noble were the principles which guided Agricola in his scientific efforts is seen from the dedication of the work *Über die Erdflüsse* to the Elector Maurice : ' My limited circumstances do not allow of my going to much expense over my writings. But still I have incurred some outlay, and thereby not a little diminished my income. While devoting myself passionately with my whole heart and soul to the study of nature, I forgot to trouble myself about my worldly means, which I might

A year after the death of this great man his principal work, 'Von der Bergwerk oder Bergbaukunst,' was brought out by Fabricius, who also intended to write Agricola's biography.[1] As is said in the dedicatory preface to the Elector Maurice and his brother Augustus, this book had been finished in 1550. The delay in publication was probably owing to the time it took to produce the numerous and remarkably interesting woodcuts with which it was illustrated, and for which a Joachimsthal burgher, Basil Wefring, did all the drawings, in number 275. The fine and costly binding corresponds to the inward value of the work, which fills over 500 folio pages. The appreciation which this 'mineralogical pandect' received was well deserved. This pioneer work quickly passed through numerous editions and was translated into German. Conrad Gesner called Agricola the German Pliny, and a later investigator said of him: 'In the history of German science the founder of mineralogy will always be spoken of with reverence and respect, and his name will only be extinguished when science itself is extinguished.'[2]

have augmented in an honourable manner had I esteemed riches, good fortune and position more highly than the acquisition of knowledge concerning things unknown and the investigation of nature.' Schrauf, p. 97.

[1] *De re metallica libri* 12, Basiliae, 1556.

[2] Laube, p. 99. 'Agricola's summary of experiences,' says Kopp (*Gesch. der Chemie*, i. 106), 'did not receive till later on the recognition from chemistry which is due to it from this science.' See also Kopp, *Entwicklung der Chemie in der neueren Zeit*, Munich, 1873, p. 26, and Hirsch, *Gesch. der Medizin*, who says (p. 38): 'In the history of chemistry also G. Agricola fills a position of honour.' 'He taught the art of purifying metals, and is therefore also regarded as the founder of chemical metallurgy. The flourishing development of the Silesian glass industry is without doubt due to the founder of mineralogy, . . . G. Agricola.'

But, deeply religious as Agricola was, he forbore with true tact from mixing up pious reflection with his scientific work. The greatest contrast, in this respect, was presented by the Protestant theologian John Mathesius.[1] This enthusiastic pupil, worshipper and biographer of Luther (from 1545 to his death in 1565 pastor at Joachimsthal), published in 1562 a work entitled 'Sarepta oder Bergpostill.' In this remarkable patchwork we find the researches of Agricola supplemented in the strangest manner with biblical and historical notes as well as with pious admonitions. In the course of sixteen sermons he treats of the ancient mining town Sarepta in the Holy Land, of the beginning and spread of mining works, of the origin, increase, and decrease of metals of gold, of silvergilt, copper, iron, tin, lead, glass, and so on. From the headlines a certain idea can be formed of the strange contents of these pages. Thus sermon 7 deals with 'copper and copper-mine work, together with an explanation of the brazen serpent of Moses'; sermon 8: 'On the nature and properties of iron, with an explanation of Daniel's vision, wherein the rise and fall of the four chief monarchies of the world are explained, together with the eternal kingdom of Jesus Christ'; sermon 14: 'On coinage in general, with a true account of the old coinage, men-

C. Friedrich, *Die altdeutschen Gläser*, published by the Bavarian industrial museum at Nuremberg, *ibid.* 1884, p. 25. Concerning Agricola see also Zittel, pp. 17 f., 30 (p. 17). 'His contemporaries describe him as "the ornament of Germany," and Werner calls him the father of all mining knowledge and the creator of all mineralogical analysis. In keenness of observation and precision of description Agricola undoubtedly holds a prominent position among mineralogists of all times.' Concerning Conrad Gesner as mineralogist see *ibid.* p. 18.

[1] In addition to Jacobi, p. 50 f., see Laube, p. 100 f., and the monograph by Ledderhose, Heidelberg, 1849.

tioned in Scripture, as regards size, alloy and stamping, and value in respect to our coins, and of Adam's threefold likeness before the Fall, after the Fall, and after his conversion, with a further account of the outward and inward process of coining by which God stamps His image in our hearts.' As regards good taste the 'Bergpostill' is deficient; scientifically also it is on a somewhat low level. However much the Protestant pastor, in the main, bases himself on his Catholic precursor G. Agricola, he nevertheless unhesitatingly introduces much that Agricola had long rejected.[1] Mathesius, who considered it his principal task 'to preach zealously against the papists and to expose their wickedness,' is not sparing in the 'Bergpostill' of his attacks against the 'accursed popes, the papal chair and the Pope's school of rascals.'[2]

The 'Bergwerkskunde' of the Thuringian doctor Christopher Encelius, published in 1557, shows a complete reversion to the unscientific standpoint of the alchemists and of the oldest 'Bergbüchlein.'[3] It will naturally seem surprising that Melanchthon should have thought fit to recommend this patchwork because it contained much that was new. A work published by James Fabricius in 1566 contained here and there some useful remarks on mountains with veins of ore, and on minerals. James Kentmann, too, who, like his

[1] Jacobi, p. 59 ff.; G. Loesche (*John Mathesius*, i. Gotha, 1895) nevertheless, with outburst against Janssen (pp. 522-523), calls the *Sarepta* an 'admirable production.'

[2] See, for instance, the eighth sermon of the *Bergpostill*; see also Döllinger, ii. 127.

[3] Jacobi, p. 53 f. Marx (*Gesch. der Krystallkunde*, p. 23 f.) gives a more favourable judgment on Encelius; meanwhile the proofs which Jacobi brings forward are conclusive.

friend Fabricius made a systematised collection of minerals, may be credited with a slight advance towards the standpoint of the great Meissen naturalist.[1]

A year earlier the Swiss scholar, Conrad Gesner, had published his book on minerals. Here, too, actual progress, as compared with that of Agricola, is scarcely perceptible; on the other hand, the book is well illustrated.[2] In 1590 Peter Albinus wrote a 'Meissnische Bergchronik.' But in the second half of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century nothing important was done for mineralogy.[3] And no wonder, since the cleverest heads wasted their strength in theological quarrels.

Towards the knowledge of plants Albert the Great had done important service, but his work was not carried on. The long period from the end of the thirteenth to the second half of the fifteenth century is regarded by historians of botany as the last sleep of this science, broken only by a few wakeful moments. There were two principal reasons which made any real progress impossible. It was believed that all plants were included in the writings of the ancients, especially in those of Dioscorides, and this without regard to the fact that those authors had, in part, an entirely different flora before their eyes. Consequently the efforts to find the plants described by them were fruitless, and nobody considered it necessary to discover and to

[1] Jacobi, p. 55 ff. Concerning the mineralogical researches of Philip Apian, see Günther, *Apian*, p. 113.

[2] For Gesner, see below, p. 521 f. See also Beckmann, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Erfindungen*, Leipzig, 1788, ii. 388 f.

[3] See Quenstedt, *Handbuch der Mineralogie*, Tübingen, 1863, p. 3, and Kobell, *Gesch. der Mineralogie*, Munich, 1864, p. 3.

observe new plants.[1] Added to this was the fact that plants did not receive attention as such, but merely as means of healing and of magic. It is from this point of view that all the botanical works of the later German Middle Ages are written. Towards the close of the fifteenth century attempts were made to popularise the science of materia medica by the publication of medico-botanical manuals for the people. Such a work, for instance, as 'Gart der Gesuntheit' ('The Garden of Health') was widely circulated, first at Mainz in 1485, and in many later editions.[2]

A further development of the science of plants beyond the limit of materia medica, on the basis of observation of nature, was attempted in the first half of the sixteenth century by a number of German scholars. Whereas till then botany had been almost exclusively studied from the writings of the ancients—of Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and Pliny—attention was now turned to direct investigation of nature, to observing, describing, and making pictures of the plant-world. The men who acted as pioneers in this respect are rightly called the fathers of Western plant-lore. The descriptions, it is true, were very crude, and in many respects inadequate; attention was still chiefly directed to the medicinal value of plants, so that these botanical writings are at the same time regular manuals of physicking. Nevertheless, as may be seen from a glance at the botanical illustrations which are often admirable, marked progress became undeniably evident, when once it was recognised that the green book of

[1] Winkler, *Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 67.

[2] Meyer, iv. 107, 189 ff., 198 ff., 284 f.; Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xii. 200 f.; see also vol. i. p. 339 of present work.

nature was preferable to the yellow leaves of the ancient writers. With direct exploration of the living flora, and first of all of the native one, new life was at last infused into botanical science.[1] First on the list of these exploring botanists we must place Otto Brunfels. Against the wish of his father he entered the Carthusian monastery of Mainz, but fled from it later on, joined the new religion, and went to such lengths in his Biblical criticism as actually to assail the authority of the Gospels. Although this restless man attained to the position of a Protestant preacher, he still did not find satisfaction; he gave up theology for medicine, and became town physician at Bern, but died prematurely in 1534.[2]

The 'Illustrations of Herbs'[3] by Brunfels (1520–1525) represents a great advance on all that had gone before. The descriptive text shows an attempt of the author to exercise criticism, and not merely to confine himself to the utilitarian side of the question. Here and there the locality of the plant is even mentioned; among the plants described there are a few of which Brunfels says that he has not found them in the writings of his precursors. What, however, is of most importance is that the written descriptions, which are often barren and incomplete, are supplemented by admirable wood-

[1] Cf. Kessler, *Wilhelm IV. als Botaniker*, pp. 1–2, and Kerner, *Die botanischen Gärten*, p. 7 f.

[2] Cf. Adam, *Vitae Med.* p. 22 f.; Meyer, iv. 295 f.; Döllinger, ii. 20 f. See also the *Katholik*, 1877, i. 629; Vierordt, *Gesch. der evangel. Kirche Badens*, i. 175; Wartmann in the *Allgem. deutschen Biographie*, Hartfelder in the *Zeitschr. für Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F. viii. 565 f.; Roth, *ibid.* ix. 284–320; L. Keller, O. Brunfels in the *Monatsheft der Comeniusgesellsch.* viii. 267–279; *Jahrbuch des Vogesenklubs*, 1900, 257 ff.

[3] *Herbarum vivae eicones ad naturae imitationem. . . .* Argentorati, 1530; tom. ii. 1531; tom. iii. 1536 f.; Pritzel, *Thesaurus*, p. 45.

cuts. These illustrations constitute the real value of the work. Instead of the rough, fantastic drawings, which the 'Gart der Gesundheit' for instance, presents, we have here a series of woodcuts which 'in distinctness and simplicity of outline, in truth to nature, in correctness of shading, mostly expressed only in the contours, and in artistic and tasteful conception, cannot be excelled.' [1]

Von Brunfels' work met with criticism from the humanist Hermann von Neuenar and from Euricius Cordus, prominent as poet, physician and scholar. Cordus, a man of like opinions with Mutian and Hutten, is known by his pungent epigrams and his irreconcilable hatred for the representatives of the old Church. At Marburg, where he had been professor of medicine since 1527, his uncontrollably passionate nature had involved him in such fierce strife with his own co-religionists, both professors and officials, that he was obliged to leave the town. He died in 1535 at Bremen.[2]

As a physician Euricius Cordus was fully imbued with the importance of the thorough study of botany. He constantly complained that his professional brothers despised the study of plant lore and relegated it to the apothecaries. It was inconceivable to him that doctors should attempt to cure diseases without any knowledge of the requisite means. He compared such folk to builders who, in constructing a house, should use a plumb-line instead of a hatchet, a saw instead of a

[1] Jessen, *Botanik*, p. 176; Zacher in the *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xii. 203 f.; cf. Treviranus, *Anwendung des Holzschnittes*, p. 10 f.; Winkler, pp. 74–75.

[2] For the life of Cordus see, besides the monograph of Krause, the valuable account by the same writer in the introduction to the new edition of Euricius Cordus' *Epigrammata*, Berlin, 1892.

gimlet. Cordus's chief aim and endeavour was to coax her secrets from Nature, the best of teachers; he cultivated a number of herbs in his own garden, and made botanical excursions, either by himself or in the company of his pupils, in the neighbourhood of Marburg. At the college, indeed, he stood quite alone in these efforts; the Marburg doctors, who were most of them adherents of the old arabistic school, accused Cordus of wanting to introduce 'a new heresy' into medicine, because he asserted that the apothecaries for centuries past had had only a false knowledge of plants. They ridiculed his botanical researches in every possible way. He did not, however, let himself be disturbed by them, but went on comparing the plants he discovered with the descriptions of Dioscorides, and trying to ascertain their German names. He published the results of his studies, rectifying the views of both earlier and late medical men and botanists, especially those of Otto Brunfels, in his 'Botanologikon,' a light form of dialogue, which appeared at Cologne in 1534. Although this work, owing to its incompleteness and unscientific form, cannot lay claim to the name and worth of an actual manual of botany, it is at any rate an important production for that period. It was the first attempt in Germany at dealing with plant lore on strictly critical principles. In this respect the 'Botanologikon' stands actually above the work of Brunfels. It was of immense significance that Cordus first established the fact that the plants of Greece and Italy which are described by Dioscorides could not possibly be found in Germany.[1]

[1] Krause, pp. 109–114, where are the proofs. See also Meyer, pp. 4, 248 f.; Winkler, p. 77; Bischoff, p. 427. Among the medical writings

Brunfels was on terms of friendship with Hieronymus Bock (styled Tragus), at first schoolmaster, and overseer of the Prince's gardens at Zweibrücken, then preacher and doctor at Hornbach in the Wasgau, and later on house physician to Count Philip of Nassau († 1554 at Hornbach).[1] To this Prince Bock dedicated the third edition of his 'Kräuterbuch' ('Book of Herbs'), first published at Strassburg in 1539.[2]

'This book of plants, well-born, gracious and dear Lord,' he says in the preface, 'I have now revised anew for your Grace, and for the common benefit, service and welfare of humanity, and for many reasons, and I herewith humbly dedicate and present it to your Grace, in order that it may have a patron and protector, and that it may encourage your Grace to take delight in all honest arts, and especially in the simple vegetable growths such as herbs, roots and others, and that you may find enjoyment in their study. I had indeed been minded to make a somewhat more imposing volume by putting together all the facts and medicines, as far as I knew and had put them in practice. Since, however, I am still sticking at the plain things which are called

of Cordus the work *De abusu uruscopiae* (On the abuse of inspecting urine) is specially noteworthy. See in addition vol. xii. of present work, p. 285, note 1; Maier, *Joh. Schenck*, p. 97 f., and Moehsen, *Beiträge*, pp. 71–72, 84–85, 128–129.

[1] Besides Meyer, iv. 303 f., see especially the article of F. Kirschleger in *Stöbers Alsatia*, 1862–1867, Mülhausen, 1868, p. 227 ff., J. Mayerhofer, in the *Histor. Jahrb.* xviii. 765 ff., and Roth in the *Mitteilungen des histor. Vereins der Pfalz*, xxiii. 25 ff. See also Reichardt in the *Festschrift der k. k. zoologisch-botanischen Gesellschaft*, Vienna, 1876, p. 147.

[2] *New Kreutterbuch von underscheydt, würckung und namen der kreutter, so in teutschen Landen wachsen.* Complete title in Pritzel, *Thesaurus*, p. 30.

Simplicia,[1] and have not yet fully mastered these, I cannot this time write of anything beyond the simple growths such as herbs, roots, seeds, fruits, and so forth; and I do not regret this, for these simples still retain their merit and virtue, and can do the work for which they were intended without all the many mixtures concocted nowadays.'

The author next enumerates the men who had revived the science of herbs, among them Brunfels and Euricius Cordus, and then turns sharply round upon the non-independent workers. 'It is only gnats, gadflies and hornets,' he says, 'which suck the sweat and blood of other animals, and when they have sucked up enough, sell it for money to strangers, with new names and titles; in which proceeding they are helped by their pens, which many of them know how to sharpen according to the common saying, which runs thus:

> He who can wield his cunning pen
> So that no other wight may ken,
> His book from foreign work he takes,
> From others' cloth a new coat makes.'

In opposition to such persons the author dwells emphatically on 'the danger, anxiety, trouble, hard work, hunger and thirst, cold and heat, fear, fatigue, long journeys hither and thither, through bad roads in German lands, through forests, over mountains and plains, &c., which he has endured in order to compile his herbarium.' In humorous fashion he then sets forth the reasons why he has given the nettle the first place in his book, as one of the tenderest and cleanest herbs.

[1] The name given to the medicinal plants in contradistinction to the *remedia composita* prepared by the apothecaries. Kerner, *Die botanischen Gärten*, p. 16.

In addition to the three editions which Bock himself lived to see, seven more came out between 1539 and 1595. This success was well merited, for Bock's descriptions surpassed all earlier ones. 'He took immense trouble also in describing the conditions under which the plants grew and the special localities where they were found. In this respect his work approaches more nearly than those of his precursors to the nature of a flora in the modern sense of the word. Further, he never mentions any plant which he has not himself seen, but of those he has seen, 'as many of them as have come into his hands in German lands,' he includes all alike, regardless of whether or no they had been recommended as means of healing by the earlier doctors. He appears throughout in the light of the keen observer wooing their secrets from the plants in the wilds of nature, or when necessary in his own garden.[1]

It is characteristic of our author's zeal for research and observation that, in spite of his weak health, he would spend whole nights in the forest in order to determine whether or no the statements circulated concerning certain plants were correct. Wherever he touches on actual plant superstitions he makes fun of them. Thus, for instance, in the account of the artemisia: 'This venerable herb *Beifuss*, has also come into the region of superstition and magic, so much so that many people dig it up on certain days and at certain hours, and seek under it for charcoal and fool's stone to cure fevers; others hang it about their bodies, make crosses of it, and whenever an attack comes on

[1] Meyer, iv. 307; Zucher (in the *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xii. 206 f.) praises Bock's style, saying that Bock well deserves eulogistic mention among the prose-writers of the sixteenth century.

throw the herb with their illness into St. John's Fire with rhymes and incantations. These ceremonies and monkey tricks are performed at Paris in France, and that not by the least of the land. Others have learnt from Pliny that if they hang artemisia with garden sage about them, they will not become weary with travelling, and there is no end to the superstitions about this herb.'

Bock also is still possessed with the belief that the plants described by Dioscorides can be found in Germany; he gives himself much unnecessary trouble in consequence.[1] It is most interesting to note that he gives up the vicious alphabetical arrangement, till then in vogue, and adopts a kind of natural system of classification. 'And in the books in question,' he says, 'I have kept to the following plan and arrangement—namely, that I have classed together, and yet also distinctively, all vegetable growths which are related to each other, or which somewhat resemble each other, and have disregarded the old ABC custom and order which is seen in old books of herbs. For to treat plants according to their alphabetical order in writing of them causes great confusion and error, for the result is that we have now a herb, then a shrub, then a tree following each other without connexion on the ABC plan. How can the plants, which are closely related to each other, be properly classified and understood as belonging to the same families if they are arranged in this arbitrary way?'

To Bock belongs the merit of having been the first who wrote a good description and drew a good picture of two cereals unknown to the Middle Ages: buck-

[1] Winkler, *Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 76; cf. Bischoff, *Botanik*, p. 425.

wheat, and Italian or Turkish corn. Of the first of these he says: 'Among the rough sandhills of Odenwald and Wasgau, where this corn grows happily and quickly, the inhabitants use it for feeding their cattle, because it tastes good and the animals eat it with relish; the poor people also make bread of it, especially the people of Odenwald; it is also common in other places, such as Kaiserslautern and round about Hagenau. When ground in the mill it becomes a fine white flour, especially when it is passed through a sieve.'

What an excellent observer of nature Bock was is shown by his description of Italian corn (maize). 'The great and hidden secret of nature with respect to this plant is that the ears are not fertilised as in other corn: it has two kinds of flowers, male and female, distinct on the same stem; long, thick cobs shoot forth from the sides of the stem; they have many cells and are covered with husks. Each cob, when the husks are removed, shows eight or ten regular rows of close-set grains. The tops of the ears are adorned with long hair, pure and tender, some yellow, some white, according to the white or red colour of the grain itself: it is a wonderful protection for the ear against birds and vermin. Thus marvellously does God's servant, Nature, act and sport in her works, which we are indeed bound to admire, and, as Paul says, learn to know the one only, eternal God and Creator in His creatures. Italian corn produces fine white flour and sweet bread, but it has a somewhat strange taste.' [1]

The 'Kräuterbuch' of the industrious Alsatian is enormously rich in information bearing on the history of plant culture. Of the Italian beans, he says:

[1] Cf. Kirschleger, *loc. cit.* pp. 234 ff., 238 f.

'Everybody knows that this fruit has not been long in Germany, but is only a late-comer.' Asparagus also, according to him, had only recently come into Germany. Madder (*Rubia Tinctorum*) was so much planted in the neighbourhood of Strassburg and Spires, that the fields produced more madder than wheat. Among the different kinds of grapes Bock enumerates: 'Muscadels, Franconian grapes, large and small, Tramin, Edel- or Lautertrauben (*Vitis vinifera* L.), Riesling grow along the Mosel and the Rhine; the Hinsch grapes are the commonest, Drutscht and Albich grapes grow about the hills of Landau; about Dürkheim and Wachenheim is found Harthinnsch; Frühschwarz or Kleber at Weissenburg, Gänsfüssel at Neustadt; then comes the Austrian grape—but who will count them all?' Under the picture of the vine in Bock's 'Book of Herbs' lies Noah in a state of drunkenness, and on the right his three sons; and on the picture of the cherry tree is seen a woman picking the fruit, while a child stands under the tree to catch it as it falls. On the juniper the fieldfares are not left out. In the rushes there struts a stork, and frogs disport themselves in the water. Under the date-palm is a squirrel, in the willows a bird's nest, under the birch-tree a broom, under the lime-tree a peasants' dance, under the mulberry tree the history of Pyramus and Thisbe (in the costume of the period!); by the fig tree there is a very coarse representation of the results of luxurious fig-eating. In some places Bock airs his hatred of the Catholics; for instance, in the description of the juniper shrub, in a wanton attack against 'the man-priests and old whores.' Equally irrelevant is an attack in the picture of the chaste tree (*Agnus castus*) on the 'loutish barefooters,'

'who come of the world and yet do not increase the world.' Instead of indulging in such attacks the author would have done better if he had taken care to have good illustrations. Those which he supplies are mostly crude and imperfect.[1]

Bock's attacks on the old Church were all the less justifiable, seeing that the abolition of convents by the religious innovators caused the greatest injury to science and learning.

Another eminent botanist of this period, Leonard Fuchs († 1566 as professor at Tübingen),[2] also a Protestant, preserved a spirit of impartiality, and had the frankness to show this openly. In bitter language he complained, in 1541, of 'the general anarchy by which all branches of study were being hopelessly undermined.' 'Once upon a time,' he said, 'learning of all sorts was encouraged in every way; nowadays, when learning has progressed to such an extent, scarcely anyone takes any further interest in it; indeed, the educational institutions founded by our ancestors are used for other and widely different purposes. All the world knows that the convents were chiefly intended to be centres of learning and of the fine arts, of piety and discipline. To-day they are nothing more than resorts for knights, hunters, and other disreputable

[1] Treviranus, p. 15.

[2] Concerning the disturbed life of Fuchs see Hizler, *De vita et morte L. Fuchsii*, Tubingae, 1566; Sprengel, iii. 262 f.; Prantl, i. 162 f., 197 f.; Maier, *Joh. Schenck*, p. 39 f.; Riezler, vi. 458 f.; Hirsch in the *Allgem. deutschen Biographie*, viii. 169, where, however, the treatise of Lorenz, *De L. Fuchsio*, Berolini, 1846, is omitted. Very full details are also given by Meyer, iv. 309 ff., although he makes the strange mistake of saying that Fuchs in 1533 'was obliged to leave the town on account of the persecutions he suffered as a Protestant from the Jesuits.' Zacher (in the *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xii. 207) repeats this statement.

people. Hence it is to be feared that the divine gift of learning will gradually be taken away from mankind, and that barbarism will return.' [1]

Fuchs' great botanical work appeared first in 1542, at Basle, in the Latin language. The very next year a German version was brought out under the title 'New Kreüterbuch, in welchem nit allein die ganz Histori, das ist,' &c. ('A new Book of Herbs, in which not only the whole history, *i.e.* the name, form, way, and time of growth, the nature, strength, and effects of the greater number of the herbs which grow in German and other lands are described with the utmost care, but which also contains such charming and artistic pictures of their roots, stalks, leaves, flowers, seeds, fruits, in short, of their whole structure, as have never been seen before, by the highly learned Leonard Fuchs, doctor and professor of medicine at Tübingen, Basle, 1543').

In the preface Fuchs says that he published his Latin work for the medical man, but the German version 'was written in order that the common people might be able to physic themselves in case of need, and to heal all kinds of diseases (for we know that much more is necessary for an honest doctor than merely to be acquainted with herbs and their effects), for he had found it to be good and useful that herbs should not only be planted and cultivated by doctors, but also by laymen and by the common people in their own gardens, in order that the knowledge and

[1] Dedication to the Benedictine Nich. Buchner, abbot of Zwiefalten, in *Claudii Galeni Pergameni de sanitate tuenda libri sex . . . . annotationibus a Leonardo Fuchsio scholae Tubingensis professore . . .illustrati.* Tubingae, 1541.

understanding of them should daily grow and increase in Germany in such a manner that they could never pass into oblivion. Therefore,' he goes on, 'in the German version I have taken special care that the things which are not useful and serviceable for the common people to know should be left out. On the other hand, I have made the descriptions of the structures of all herbs much more full and well-defined than in the Latin work, in order that the multitude may be more impressed by them, and may not forget about them.' Accordingly every chapter is divided into the following sections: names, genus, structure, place of growth, season, nature and complexion, strength, and effect.

Fuchs in his descriptions of plants follows Bock almost word for word, but he surpasses him in his admirable illustrations.[1] 'His book contains over 500 drawings of plants done in sharp outline, and by far the greater number of them from typical specimens in such positions that neither do the distinctness and fidelity to nature required by the botanist clash with the artistic design, nor the design in the least with the botanical requirements.'[2] Appreciation of Fuchs was not wanting; his work was translated into several foreign languages, he himself was raised to the nobility by the Emperor Charles V, and his name was immortalised through the Fuchsia.

After the example of the above-mentioned botanists,

[1] See Zacher, *l.c.* 208 f.

[2] Meyer, iv. 315. Cf. Winkler, p. 78; Treviranus, *Holzschnitt*, p. 13 f. who says: 'The work of Fuchs marks an epoch in the science of botany, since the woodcuts belonging to it have been much more widely used for later collections than those of Brunfels, which, though often quite as excellent, have had a smaller circulation.'

the gifted Valerius Cordus, a son of Euricius, devoted himself also to the study and exploration of the plants of his fatherland. Later on he went to Italy, where an early death put an end to his labours in 1544.[1]

Another man, Conrad Gesner, who belongs to the greatest naturalists and scholars of his day, gained distinguished recognition by the publication of his valuable researches.[2] Born at Zurich, in 1516, and son of a poor furrier, who met his death with Zwingli on the field of battle, he had had to struggle in early youth with poverty and want. A relation, the reformed preacher John Frick, gave the talented boy the first stimulus to the study of natural science. At the college of Bourges, Gesner plunged into the works of the Greek doctors and botanical authors. He continued his studies at the universities of Paris and Basle, and, in 1537, entered on the vocation of professor of the Greek language at the newly founded academy at Lausanne. Here he became busily engaged in writing, and occupied himself especially with botanical studies, which awakened in him a taste for the medical profession. A travelling stipend bestowed on him by his native town enabled him to visit the universities of

[1] See Th. Irmisch, *Über einige Botaniker des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, Sondershausen, 1862, p. 10 ff. Concerning the merits of Valerius Cordus in the improvement of pharmacy, see Haeser, ii. 215 f. V. Cordus was buried in the German national church, dell' Anima, at Rome ; see the inscription on his grave in Forcella, *Iscrizioni di Roma*, iii. 454.

[2] Besides the monographs of Hanhart (1824) and Lebert, *Gesner als Arzt*, Zurich, 1854, see also Wolf, *Biographien zur Kulturgesch. der Schweiz*, Zurich, 1858, i. 15 ff. ; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, ix. 107 ff. ; Meyer, iv. 322 ff., and Jessen, p. 178 ff. It is remarkable how ignorant the otherwise learned Gesner was of Catholic theology. A striking proof of this is afforded by his letter to the convert and botanist, James Dalechamps, whom he vainly tried to win back again to Protestantism ; see Räss, i. 579 ff.

Montpelier and Basle, where he took the degree of doctor in 1541. After this he settled down at Zurich as practising doctor, and obtained at the same time a professorship of philosophy; his pay, meanwhile, was so meagre that he was obliged to supplement it by literary work. He published a series of philosophical and philological writings, and, in 1545, a general catalogue of authors, whereby he acquired his good name in the world of scholars.[1] Journeys to Frankfort-on-the-Main, Venice, and Augsburg enriched his store of knowledge and added considerably to his literary connexions. The latter became so extensive that it could be said of him that almost all the important naturalists and medical men of the period were in relations with him. In 1548 he published a practical encyclopædia (*Real-Encyclopädie*) of human knowledge, and three years later the first part of a great zoological work. The completion of this work was hindered partly by Gesner's chronic ill-health, but also and chiefly by his poverty. Although he had obtained the post of town doctor, his circumstances continued to be very needy: twenty florins a year as doctor, eighty as professor, with a few payments in kind, made up his whole income.[2] All the more admirable is it that this enthusiast for learning still found sufficient means to have numbers of drawings of plants executed by skilled artists; he kept careful watch over these artists to insure their working in strict conformity

[1] 'Even at the present day,' says Ebert (*Allgem. bibliographisches Lexikon*, p. 672), Gesner's work is 'a rich mine, not yet by any means exhausted, and very often much more reliable than the works of later bibliographers.' Cf. Hanhart, p. 113 ff.

[2] *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, ix. 112.

to nature, and not according to their own fancy.[1] A letter to Bullinger resulted, in 1558, in an improvement of Gesner's position; in the same year he obtained a professorship of natural science. And now, in addition to his small garden filled with rare Alpine and foreign plants, he was able to lay out a second and larger piece of ground. Here he tended and observed the rare plants which his learned friends sent him from his home, and from Germany, Italy, and France. Besides philological, theological, and medical writings, this indefatigable man was also keenly busy with the compilation of botanical and zoological works. In 1559 he went to the Diet at Augsburg, in order to be presented to the Emperor Ferdinand, to whom he had dedicated the fourth book of his zoological work. The Emperor, who took an interest in natural history, conversed for more than an hour with this learned man, and dismissed him with the assurance of his benevolent good wishes. Later on also Gesner had the good fortune to enjoy imperial favour. But his physical powers were already exhausted through privations and hard work. In 1563 he wrote to his friend Kentmann: 'If you saw me in the body, you would see in me a picture of death.' Nevertheless he did not spare himself: still, as had always been his habit, he devoted a part of the night to study. In 1564, while in attendance on plague patients, he was repeatedly in great danger of his life. The following year (December 13, 1565) this malignant disease carried off the zealous botanist, who was busy up to the last with his great work on plants. His pupil, Caspar Wolf, to whom he entrusted the completion of his botanical work,

[1] Treviranus, pp. 17 and 23.

did not prove worthy of the task. He sold Gesner's botanical bequest for 175 florins to Joachim Camerarius the younger, at Nuremberg. But he, too, was not able to finish this great work, and it did not appear in print till 150 years after the death of its author.[1]

Gesner's significance as a botanist lies in his having turned his attention to the hitherto neglected study of the structure of blossoms and fruits, made drawings of them, and realised their pre-eminent value in determining the relationship of plants.[2]

Still greater, however, were the services rendered by this Swiss scholar to zoology, up till then an almost entirely neglected branch of study. His endeavour in this respect was to collect together in a comprehensive book of reference everything that was known about animals. 'How difficult and troublesome it is,' says Gesner himself, 'to compare the works of all the different authors with each other, so that all can be put together in a uniform manner, with nothing overlooked and nothing repeated, can only be understood by one who has attempted the task. I have striven to do this work so carefully that inquirers will no longer be obliged to refer to other authors about the same things, but may feel satisfied that all that is known on the subject is collected in one volume, just as if they possessed a whole library in one single book.'

This aim Gesner accomplished. His history of animals, filling five folio volumes, is a giant production, by means of which entirely new paths have been

[1] Cf. Hanhart, p. 291 ff.

[2] Sachs, *Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 21 ; cf. Jessen, p. 201 ff. ; Reess, *Pflege der Botanik*, p. 5 f., and Bruhin in the *Bericht der St. Gallischen naturwissenschaft. Gesellschaft*, 1865, p. 18 f. Concerning Gesner's great services as regards woodcuts of plants, see Treviranus, p. 16 ff.

opened up in zoology. In these volumes we find for the first time pictures of the then known animal creation, based on exact observations from a genuine natural-history standpoint: the first volume contains the mammalia; the second the oviparous quadrupeds; the third birds; the fourth, fish and aquatic animals; the fifth, which was intended to deal with snakes and insects, came out unfinished after the death of the author. A special merit of the Gesner natural history consists, again, in its good illustrations. In order to estimate rightly the progress marked by this work, the thoroughly unsatisfactory nature of all previous attempts of the kind must be taken into account.[1]

Like Gesner, the Netherlander Karl Clusius was also a zoologist and a botanist, but his researches were of most benefit to botany; and, indeed, the study of plant lore was pursued much more in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than that of animals. An experienced specialist says of this versatile scholar: 'None of his predecessors or contemporaries have

[1] Carus, *Gesch. der Zoologie*, pp. 277 f., 283; cf. *ibid.* p. 310 ff., concerning the Biblical zoology of that period, especially concerning the *Biblical Book of Animals* of H. H. Frey (Leipzig, 1595), and the *Historia animalium sacra* (Wittenberg, 1612) of the Wittenberg theological professor, Wolfgang Franz. Here, among the pictures of animals we find the sphinx as well as the dragon. The dragon is described more in detail: 'he has three rows of teeth in each jaw; some of them have no wings, others have wings but no feathers, and only finlike folding membranes.' The author then goes on: 'So much for the natural dragons. The chief dragon is the devil,' and so forth. 'It must further be mentioned that George Hoefnagel at Augsburg, towards the end of the sixteenth century, painted for the Emperor Rudolf II a pictorial book of natural history in miniature, in four volumes, for which he received the large sum of 1000 florins. This w rk is now at Augsburg (see *Blätter für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*. N.F. ii. [1868] 37). Concerning the zoological researches of the Nuremberger doctor, Volcker Koiter († 1590) see Hirsch, *Gesch. der Medizin*, p. 36 f.

done more to enrich botany with new discoveries, nor described and weighed their discoveries more exactly than he did.' [1]

In the years 1564-1565 Clusius, as companion to the Counts Fugger, made a journey through the Pyrenean peninsula, then almost entirely unknown to botanists. The botanical booty he acquired on this expedition he collected in a special work which was published in 1576. The accompanying woodcuts are among the finest which had been seen till then.[2] Three years before Clusius had been appointed by Maximilian II court botanist at Vienna. During his long residence in the imperial town the indefatigable explorer travelled through the greater part of Nether Austria, and also through the Alpine lands and those districts of Hungary and Croatia which were not yet subject to Turkish rule. Many of the plants which he found in his wanderings Clusius brought back to Vienna, and cultivated them in his own garden and in that of his friend the doctor and professor Aichholtz.[3] Clusius was the first person who grew the centifolious rose, the horse-chestnut, and potatoes in Vienna. His botani-

[1] Meyer, iv. 354. Concerning Clusius as zoologist see Carus, p. 323 f. For the life and labours of this great scholar see Meyer, iv. 350 ff.; Neilreich, 'Gesch. der Botanik in Niederösterreich,' in the transactions of the *Zoologisch-botanische Verein in Wien*, v. 22 ff.; Morren, *Charles de l'Ecluse, sa vie et ses œuvr s*, Liège, 1875; Aschbach, iii. 347 ff., and especially a number of articles by Reichardt in the *Blätter für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, ii. (1866) 33 ff.; iv. (1868) 72 ff. See also Pluskal, 'Zur Geschichte der Pflanzenkunde in Mähren,' in the *Verhandlungen der Zoologisch-b tanis hen Gesellsch.* 1856, p. 363; Kerner in the *Z itschr. des Deutsch-Österreichischen Alpenvereins*, vi. (1875) 59 ff., and Knuth, *Gesch. der Botanik in Schleswig-Holstein*, Kiel, 1892, p. 9 f.

[2] Treviranus, p. 35.

[3] Concerning the garden of the Viennese professor Aichholtz, see also *Nachträge zu Aschbach*, i. 21–23.

cal discoveries among Austrian plants were collected together by him in a work which appeared in 1583. The plant descriptions given here are masterly, and are supplemented by accompanying woodcuts.[1] Four years after the publication of this work the author migrated from Vienna to Frankfort-on-the-Main, whence he entered into close relations with the Landgrave William IV of Hesse.

This prince, who was an enthusiast for learning, had a special liking for the natural sciences, above all for botany. While at Vienna Clusius had constantly procured rare seeds and plants for him. On February 5, 1576, William IV sent his botanical friend a present of a gold beaker, because he had sent him 'already several times by command of his Imperial Majesty not only all sorts of good seeds to plant in his garden,

[1] See Reichardt in the *Blätter für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, ii. 37. There were a number of scholars on friendly terms with Clusius, who also did great service in the cause of botany, as for instance Rembertus Dodonaeus, imperial house-physician to Maximilian II, and Rudolf II († 1585) (cf. Von Meerbeeck, *La vie et les ouvrages de Remb. Dodon*, Malines, 1841; Roentzen, *Dodonäus' Leben und Schriften*, Würzburg, 1842; d'Avoine, *Remb. Dodon*, Malines, 1850; Meyer, iv. 340 f.; Treviranus, p. 26 ff.), and Matthias Lobelius († 1616) (see Meyer, iv. 358 f.; Sachs, p. 34 f., and Treviranus, p. 29 ff. concerning the services of Lobelius as regards woodcut drawings of plants). P. A. Mathiolus, the house-physician of Maximilian II (and before that of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol), was also a botanist. He died in 1577 (not 1574 as Hirn, i. 362, says) at Trent, where his fine sepulchre may be seen in the cathedral (see Tiraboschi, *Lett. ital.* vii. 2, 2 f.; Meyer, iv. 366 f.; Treviranus, p. 22 f., who finds fault with the illustrations of Mathiolus, and Ambrosi in the *Archivio Trentino*, 1882). Among the friends of Clusius we must also mention James Theodore Tabernaemontanus, professor and house-physician at Heidelberg, where he died in 1590 (not 1559 as Hautz, ii. 145, makes out). Tabernaemontanus was a pupil of Bock; for his botanical writings see Pritzel, *Thesaurus*, p. 311. See besides Hautz, *l.c.*; Bischoff, *Botanik*, p. 430 f.; Fraas, *Gesch. der Landbauwissenschaft*, p. 34 f.; Treviranus, p. 38 f., and *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xii. 210 f.

but also a nice, proper list of directions as to how each of the seeds was to be sown and at what time.' [1]

After the removal of Clusius to Frankfort his relations with the Hessian Landgrave became closer. William IV assigned to him a yearly sum which enabled him to live wholly for science. In so doing the Landgrave had evidently the intention of extending his own botanical knowledge with the help of Clusius, above all of enriching his garden with rare plants. Many of the views of his princely patron might well make Clusius smile, for in matters of natural science also William IV was in bondage to the strangest superstitions. In 1578, for instance, he wrote to a naturalist that 'he had till then considered it a fabulous tale that a basilisk was hatched from a cock's egg; whereas, however, lately a large old cock after long sitting and cackling had laid a large, bullet-shaped egg, and a dog which had eaten part of the cock had died in consequence. He wished to know his (the naturalist's) opinion on the matter.' [2] In other points, however, the Landgrave was in advance of his contemporaries. Thus, for instance, he was the author of the proposition that there was no chemical preparation by which baser or impure metals could be turned into gold. 'To alter *substantias metallorum et creaturarum* is the work of no human being, but of God alone; consequently, whoever pretends to be able to do such things is a liar.' [3] In mathematics and astronomy William IV was such a proficient that he must be reckoned among the scholars of these branches of science. The services

[1] Kessler, *Wilhelm IV. als Botaniker*, p. 15.

[2] Rommel, *Gesch. von Hessen*, v. 768, note 263. Cf. Grässe, *Beiträge zur Literatur*, Dresden, 1850, pp. 59–60. [3] Rommel, v. 774.

he rendered them were only recognised in later times. Great also are his merits in regard to botany; he is probably the first German prince who laid out a garden which can in a certain sense be described as a botanical garden. This passionate lover of plants was not content with his gardens in Cassel, Marburg, Eschwege, Rotenburg, and Rheinfels, and accordingly, in the years 1568 and 1569, he had a new and very extensive garden laid out lower down on the Fulda than the residential castle. It was planted in the form of a rectangle, and it covered the greater part of the ground now occupied by the Aupark below the orangery building. Here the Landgrave cultivated every variety of native and foreign plants, and he did his best to get them distributed far and wide; he used this new garden especially for his experiments with newly discovered plants, which, owing to his extensive circle of acquaintances in the botanical world, were forthwith sent to him from all quarters. He was in connexion with professional botanists and botanical travellers, kept up a system of barter in seeds and plants with all the most distinguished owners of gardens far and near, had young people trained at his expense, and sent them to foreign lands for the purpose of procuring plants.' One of these young agents was John Albert Hyperius, of Marburg, who was commissioned, in 1584, to bring trees, plants, and seeds from Italy to Cassel, after which he was at once 'to settle down again and continue his studies.' [1]

William IV's garden was in a certain sense a

[1] Kessler, *Wilhelm IV. als Botaniker*, pp. 3 and 20 f. On this side of the Alps the first impulse to the formation of a botanical garden had been given by Conrad Gesner, but he had not succeeded in carrying out his idea at Zurich. See his *Eingabe an den Bürgermeister und Rat* in Hanhart, p. 212 f.

botanical garden, but it was also a pleasure ground. A Hessian chronicler writes of it that it was 'full of beautiful plants, fruit trees, bowers, paths, and very delightful fountains and waterworks'; there was also in this garden 'a very strange sort of house, which every year at certain times could be taken down and built up again, in which a quantity of fruit-bearing fig, pomegranate, and citron trees, and also laurel bushes were kept.' The zeal with which William IV was bent on importing foreign seeds and plants is seen from his correspondence. In 1562 he ordered from the Thurisan family at Nuremberg a consignment of pomegranate trees, lemon, citron, myrtle, and Adam's-apple trees, 'which were to be bought at the Gardasee at Tusculano of Feliciano Colosino.' Even political agents received commissions of this sort. If William IV was absent from Cassel his officials had to send him exact accounts of the condition of his beloved garden. A whole series of German princes begged for seeds and plants from the far-famed garden at Cassel: for instance, Landgrave Louis of Hesse-Marburg, Landgrave George of Hesse-Darmstadt, Joachim Frederick, archbishop of Magdeburg; Count Frederick of Mömpelgard; George Louis, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg; Count Hermann of Neuenar, and the Elector Christian of Saxony. To the latter William IV wrote on March 10, 1591: 'We send your Highness among others a plant which we received from Italy a few years ago, and which is called Taratouphli. It grows in the earth and has fine flowers and a good smell, and underneath, hanging on the roots, it has a number of tubera, which when cooked are very pleasant to eat; but they must first of all be left to soak in water, so that the outer shells may

come off, then they must be stewed and soaked well in butter.' The learned Landgrave constantly sought the opinion of botanical professors at the university of Marburg on new plants.[1]

William IV also kept up a brisk correspondence concerning the acquisition and exchange of seeds and plants with the Nuremberg town physician, Joachim Kamerer (Camerarius, † 1598): 'A great love for plants, in which Cordus and his son had been his exemplars, a garden of his own in which he could have them always under his eyes, an important collection of dried plants which Camerarius had himself observed during their life, a knowledge of classical antiquity as also of its art, which he must have imbibed from the surroundings of his native town, from his teachers and from his travels, his pecuniary means which enabled him to pay artists—all these and similar circumstances warranted the expectation from him of better and more perfected illustrations than had yet been known.' This expectation was not disappointed. The woodcuts of plants with which the Nuremberg scholar supplied his botanical works, especially his 'Medizinisch-botanischen Garten' (Frankfort, 1588), are the finest which have yet seen the light.[2]

Camerarius also did good service by bringing out the works of other researchers. To him, for instance, was due the publication of the 'Sylva Hercynia' of the Nordhaus doctor John Thal († 1583), 'the oldest and relatively speaking the most complete, and, as regards

[1] Kessler, *Wilhelm IV. als Botaniker*, pp. 3, 7 ff., 11 f., 19 ff.

[2] Trevirnus, pp. 41 ff., 46 f. Concerning Camerarius see Adam, *Vitae Med.* p. 344 f., and Irmisch, *Ueber einige Botaniker des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Sandershausen, 1862, p. 39 ff.

detail, most careful narrative and description of a local Flora.' If Camerarius is not exactly the first who according to Italian fashion laid out a botanical garden in Germany,[1] his garden was at any rate one of the finest and most richly stocked in the whole Empire. In it was seen, among other rarities, the tobacco plant of Central America, of which Camerarius writes: 'The Indians let the smoke of the leaves go down into their insides, and are refreshed by it under heavy work; it makes them rather merry, and it must therefore not be used in this way by everybody, especially by idle people, for it has sometimes happened that it has done more harm than good. Some very precious wound salves, especially good for gout, have been made from this plant; item, an oil, and other medicaments.' [2] Among other fine and famous private gardens, which in certain respects may be called botanical gardens,[3] Conrad Gesner, in his pamphlet 'Über die deutschen Gärten,' mentions especially those of Aretius at Bern, of Cordus at Marburg, of Curtius at Lindau, of Leonard Fuchs at Tübingen, of Minkel at Strassburg, of Scholz at

[1] As Reess (*Pflege der Botanik in Franken*, p. 6) states. Here, at p. 36 ff., are printed eighteen letters of William IV to Camerarius.

[2] Schwertschlager, p. 50, note 1: 'Ein Beispiel, wie auch sonst damals der Tabak als das grösste Heilmittel gepriesen wurde' ('An example of how at that time tobacco was prized as the greatest means of healing') in Franz, *Gesch. der Landbauwissenschaft*, 53.

[3] In this connexion Schwertschlager (*Der botanische Garten*, p. 5), in discussing the gardens of Italian scholars and that of Camerarius, says very justly: 'The majority of them probably did accomplish the object intended; in some of them, however, plants were cultivated in greater variety and for physiological experiments, and these deserve the name of botanical gardens, although with the reservation that they were in no sense public institutions, or intended for instruction, and therefore not botanical gardens in the present-day sense of the word'

Breslau, and of Zwinger at Basle.[1] In another place he mentions the gardens of Christopher Leuschner at Meissen, of the town scribe Renward Cysat at Lucerne, of Rudolf Schlick at Kaufbeuern, of Clusius and Aichholtz at Vienna. The last-named botanists, on their wanderings in the Alps, dug up whole plants of the finest Alpine flowering specimens, to transplant them into their gardens ; they grew other Alpine plants from seeds which they collected carefully during their mountain excursions. Clusius complains that in spite of every care some of these plants, after one or two years, began to droop or became stunted. He also tried to domesticate in the gardens of Vienna, as ornamental plants, the Alpine flowers which flourished also in the valley.[2]

The statements concerning the oldest botanical university gardens of Germany still greatly need critical revision. The gardens generally classed as the oldest are those of Leipzig (1579 or 1580), of Breslau (1587), of Basle (1588), of Heidelberg (1593) ; it is, however, by no means finally determined whether these gardens can really claim the honour of seniority. It is, never-

[1] Gesner classifies the different gardens as follows : (1) useful gardens ; (2) medicinal gardens ; (3) nondescript gardens, containing healing plants and other rare plants ; (4) ornamental gardens, or mere pleasure grounds, with bowers, summer-houses, labyrinths ; (5) show gardens, with large buildings, ponds, artistic mounds, &c. *De Hortis Germaniæ*, an appendix to Val. Cordus, *Annotationes in Pedacii Dioscoridis de medica materia*, Argentorati, 1561, fol. 237ᵇ f., 248. Cf. Jessen, *Botanik*, p. 251.

[2] Kerner in the *Zeitschr. des Deutsch-österreichischen Alpenvereins*, vi. (1875) 45 f. ; *ibid.* also for the gardens of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries ; see also A. Kaufmann, *Der Gartenbau im Mittelalter und während der Periode der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1892. Concerning Cysat's garden cf. *Jahrbuch für Schweizer Gesch.* xiii. 170 ; xx. 6 f. For the botanical gardens in Meissen in the sixteenth century see *Mitteil. des Vereins für Geschichte Meissens*, iv. 45 f. Data concerning the culture of flowers which have some bearing on the history of civilisation, also in Schultz, *Häusliches Leben*, p. 46 f.

theless, certain that, like the botanical gardens in general, these university gardens also developed gradually out of nursery grounds for the growth of medicinal plants, into representative plantations for the whole plant kingdom. It is significant in this respect that at Heidelberg it was a professor of medicine who laid out the garden.[1] The Breslau garden also owed its origin to a medical man, the famous doctor Lorenz Scholz. Here the Silesian, Plinius Caspar Schwenkfeld († 1609), pursued his studies. Plants which were then extraordinarily rare were grown here successfully; as, for instance, the Agave, brought first to Europe in 1561, tulips, pumpkins, the red and the yellow flowering tobacco plant, and finally the potato.[2]

A doctor also it was, the professor Louis Jungermann, a nephew of Camerarius, at first professor in Giessen and then in Altorf († 1653), who, in 1609, founded a botanical university garden in Giessen, and one, in 1626, in Altorf. It is probable also that this scholar co-operated with John Conrad von Gemmingen,

[1] See Hautz, ii. 144 f.; Kerner, *Die botanischen Gärten*, p. 17 f.; Becker, *Gesch. der medizinischer Facultät in Heidelberg*, Heidelberg, 1876, p. 13; Puschmann, *Medizinischer Unterricht*, p. 269, cf. p. 339; Saint-Lager, *Hist. des Herbiers*, p. 13; Hess, *K. Bauhin*, p. 47 f.; Schwertschlager, p. 4. 'The influence of these gardens on science,' says Jessen (*Botanik*, p. 191), 'was not due so much to the importance to which the knowledge of plants had been raised in the large circle of medical practitioners, as to the fact that the study of plants out of learned books led on to the investigation and classification of living plants, and also that every university had now become a centre for the investigation of the flora of the land.' See also Gr. Kraus, 'Geschichte der Bevölkerung der botanischen Gärten,' in the same author's work entitled *Der botanische Garten der Universität Halle*, Leipzig, 1894, 2 Heft, 83 ff. See p. 85 ff. for Gesner's *Horti Germaniae*, as also his *Untersuchungen über die Zeit der Einführung der in den botanischen Gärten vorkommenden Pflanzen.*

[2] Grünhagen, *Gesch. Schlesiens*, ii. 391. See F. Kohn, *Dr. Laurentius Scholz von Rosenau, ein Arzt und Botaniker der Renaissance*, 1890.

the highly cultured prince-bishop, who was an enthusiast for science and learning, in laying out the botanical gardens at Eichstätt; the most important part in this undertaking, however, fell to the Nurembergers Joachim Camerarius and Basilius Besler. The latter, an apothecary, was also connected with Karl Clusius.[1]

The botanical garden of the Prince-Bishop of Eichstätt, which was begun in 1597, was situated in the semicircular space round the Willibaldsburg within the fortification works. It consisted originally of about eight irregular terrace gardens overhanging each other; to each of these terraces was assigned a separate gardener, who had to see to the culture of the plants placed under him, and who was responsible for them. A considerable number of ornamental plants from warmer regions stood about in tubs and casks in other places, on walls or on the walks on the ramparts. For the very large plants of hot climates—for the different kinds of cactus for instance—special hot-houses were built. A water conduit constructed by the prince-bishop himself supplied the alimentation of this small paradise. Contemporary writers praise especially the beautiful order in which plants of the same species were here grouped together, and the care taken to provide the special conditions necessary to the life of the different families of plants. Thus, for instance, the sunniest part, the so-called hindmost castle garden, was devoted to the carnations and cacti. The wealth of the garden, which contained also numbers of South European and tropical

[1] Schwertschlager, pp. 6–7. At Freiburg-in-the-Breisgau a botanical university garden was founded in 1620. Schreiber, *Universität Freiburg*, ii. 147.

plants, is described in detail in the splendidly got up botanical work of Besler, published, in 1613, under the lengthy title: 'Eichstätter Garten, oder sorgfältige und genaue Abbildung und naturgetreues Konterfei sämmtlicher Pflanzen, Blumen und Sträucher, welche aus verschiedenen Erdteilen mit besonderem Eifer zusammengebracht worden sind und in den hochberühmten, die dortige bischöfliche Burg umgebenden Pflanzengärten zu Zeit gesehen werden.' From this work, got up with princely magnificence, it is seen what a proportionately large number of plants, medicinal, useful, and ornamental, the wealthy and nation-loving prince-bishop had collected 'for the study and convenience of botanists.' Especially noteworthy is the effort made at the same time to exhibit a collection of the rarest exotic ornamental plants. Conrad von Gemmingen had procured these chiefly from Antwerp, Brussels, and Amsterdam. Side by side with orange, lemon, and pomegranate trees there were to be seen here the American Agave, the three-coloured amaranth, the marvel of Peru, the Spanish pepper tree, the potato plant, three kinds of tobacco plant, besides the most exquisite roses, narcissuses, orchids, anemones, lilies, and above all quantities of different kinds of tulips. The ravages of the Thirty Years' War brought, alas! an untimely end to all this beauty and delight.[1]

[1] The above is taken from the eminently careful researches of Schwertschlager (pp. 7 ff., 11 ff., 28 ff., 38 ff.). See also Reess, *Pflege der Botanik*, p. 7, *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Museum*, i. 57; Peters, i. 100, and Schultz, *Häusliches Leben*, p. 46 f., where the statements made here by me in 1894 are overlooked. The numerous gardens of most of the German princes and great people were not of a scientific nature, but they served the ends of botany in an indirect manner, since love of emulation and the collector's hobby soon brought a splendid flora from over the sea and from tropic lands. At the head of collectors of this sort stood the Roth-

As with the botanical gardens, so, too, collections of dried plants were first turned to scientific account in Italy. The first scientist in Germany who made use of this immensely helpful adjunct of botany was the Augsburg doctor, Leonard Rauwolf († 1596).[1] His herbarium fills three volumes; the first two contain the plants which he collected in France and in the French part of Switzerland in the years 1560–1563; the third is devoted to the spoils of a journey undertaken in 1563 to Upper and Central Italy and Switzerland, while in the fourth are collected together all the foreign herbs which Rauwolf brought back with him from his great Oriental journey. An account of this expedition, which he began in May 1573, was published ten years later under the title: 'Leonharti Rauwolfen, Arztnei Doctorn und bestallten *Medici* zu Augsburg Aigentliche Beschreibung der Raiss, so er vor dieser Zeit gegen Auffgang in die Morgenländer, fürnehmlich Syriam, Judaeam, Arabiam, Mesapotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armeniam, &c., &c., nicht ohne geringe Mühe unnd grosse gefahr selbs vollbracht: neben

schilds of those days, the Fuggers. Cf. Kaufmann, *Gartenbau*, p. 40 f. Concerning the garden plots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see also Lübke, *Gesch. der deutschen Renaissance*, pp. 212–216. For the garden of Archduke Ferdinand at Ambras see Hirn, ii. 422 f.; for that of Maximilian II see Kerner in the *Zeitschr. des Deutsch-österreichischen Alpenvereins*, vi. 50. From the Elector Augustus and his wife the taste for horticulture of all sorts received a scientific colouring and developed into a study of individual plants and their utility as means of healing. Falke, *Kurfürst August*, p. 118.

[1] Cf. Saint-Lager, *Histoire des Herbiers*, pp. 30 ff., 69 ff. The collection of Rauwolf (see Bettelheim, *Biographische Blätter*, i., and Hautzsch, *Deutsche Reisende im 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 129 f.) had remarkable adventures. Down to the Swedish period it remained at Augsburg, and passed then into the hands of Queen Christina, who presented the herbarium to Isaac Vossius. By his heirs it was sold to the library at Leyden, which is still the happy possessor of this treasure.

vermeldung etlicher mehr gar schön fremden und aussländischen Gewächsen samt iren mit angehemckten, lebendigen contrafacturen und auch anderer denckwürdiger sachen, die alle er auf solcher erkundigt, gesehen und observiret hat.' [1]

Rauwolf's admirable collection is called by no special name, but it bears the lengthy inscription: 'Herbal in which many beautiful and foreign herbs are very carefully collected and dried by the most learned Leonard Rauwolf, doctor of medicine, and salaried medicus of the town of Augsburg. These plants were not only brought from Piedmont round Nissa, and from Provence round Marseilles, but also from Syria on Mount Lebanon, from Arabia near the river Euphrates, from Chaldea, Assyria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and other places, where he collected them during the three years' journey which with God's help he accomplished, with great trouble, labour, danger, and expense, and which he has described in his *Rayszbuch* ['Book of Travels'], which has been printed and published. This happened in the years 1573, '74, and '75, after the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ.' [2] The present usual name for such collections appears first on the collection [3] of Dr. Caspar Ratzenberger († 1603), who already made botanical journeys to Italy

[1] Fuller details on the different editions and the translations of this work are given in Pritzel, *Thesaurus*, p. 256; cf. Treviranus, p. 37.

[2] Saint-Lager, *Hist. des Herbiers*, pp. 72–73.

[3] This collection, begun in 1592, is at present in the Royal Museum at Cassel. It bears the following title: *Lebendiger Herbarius oder Kreuterbuch aller Gewechs, beume, stauden, hecken, kreuter, wurzelen, bluet, blomen, früchte, Gummata, hartzigen, säfften, gewurtz, getreidich, Meehr- und wassergewechsen so in deutzch, francreiche, und welschen landen, in Hispanien, Indien, Türkei und anderer örter der neuen Welt wachsen, durch mich Casparum Ratzenbergerum Sallveldensem der Arztnei Doctorem und der stadt*

and the South of France (1559–1560), when he was only a 'Kandidat' of medicine. In Italy he specially visited the convent gardens.

Ratzenberger dedicated his three-volumed work to the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse, from which we may conclude that herbariums were rare at that time. In taking this step, he said he had 'been influenced chiefly by the fact that your Princely Highness's father, also my gracious Prince and Lord, was a special lover of plants and gardens, and had so adorned and filled a princely pleasure garden at Cassel with all sorts of rare herbs and foreign plants, and had had them arranged with such care, that it may be said to the praise of his Princely Grace that his garden is renowned before all other princely pleasure-gardens in Germany. And from this my *Herbarius vivus* young *medici* and *medicinae Tyrones* can become acquainted, within eight days, with as many native and foreign herbs and *Simplicia* as it has taken me at least ten or twelve years to learn about; so that this my *Herbarius* placed in a library would be very useful

Naumburgk an der Sala Medicum Physicum zum teil in oberwehnten auslendischen landen selbst eingesamlet, zum teil aber in meinem lust- und kreutergarten selbsten gezielet und gepflanzet und von lysibon (Lisbon), *Antworff, dantzigk und Wien aus erlanget und bekommen sambt derselbigen, rechten nahmen in mancherlei sprachen und soviel möglichen in ihrer natürlicher und lebendiger erwachsung der wurtzeln, Stammen, blettern, blüten, früchten und Sahmen mit allem vleiss zusammen und in drei unterschiedliche theill gebracht.* Cf. Dr. H. F. Kessler, *Das älteste und erste Herbarium Deutschlands im Jahre* 1592 *von Dr. K. Ratzenberger angelegt, beschrieben und kommentirt*, Cassel, 1870. See also Fr. Matouschek, 'Über alte Herbarien' in the *Bericht des Vereins der Naturfreunde in Reichenberg*, 1901, ii. *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, lxi (1901), 440 f. The oldest plants of this herbarium belong to the year 1556. Concerning an *Herbal* of the end of the sixteenth century, now in the town library of Ulm, see Kreutzer, *Das Herbar*, Vienna, 1864, p. 157 f.

to such *Tyrones*. For this reason I have left everywhere empty *Latera* (sides), so that in future students may compare further plants belonging to the same species, indigenous and foreign, and add the results to my book.' Landgrave Maurice presented the diligent scholar with a gilded beaker and one hundred gold florins *pro honorario*.[1]

Rauwolf's collection contained 513, Ratzenberger's 746 plants. The herbarium of the Basle anatomist and botanist Caspar Bauhin (born 1560, died 1624) has no fewer than 4000 specimens. Caspar and his brother John Bauhin held such a prominent position among the botanists of that period, that fuller mention of their labours must not be omitted here.[2]

The family of Bauhin hails from France, whence it migrated to Basle on account of its attachment to the reformed faith. Here Jean Bauhin gained respect and riches as a skilful doctor, so that he was able to give his two sons, John and Caspar, a very careful education. Both of them chose the profession of their father, from whom they had also inherited a taste for the study of natural science, especially of botany.

John Bauhin, born in 1541, came as a youngster into connexion with Conrad Gesner, who soon bestowed on him his warmest friendship. After he had studied at Basle, Tübingen, Mömpelgard, Padua, Lyons, and Montpellier, he obtained in 1566 the professorship of rhetoric in his native town. In 1570, however, the Duke of Württemberg summoned him to Mömpelgard to

[1] Kessler, pp. 21–23.

[2] Saint-Lager, *Histoire des Herbiers*, p. 86, says: 'Among the botanists prior to Linnaeus, there are none who contributed so greatly to the progress of botany as the two brothers Bauhin.' See also Sprengel, i. 364.

act as his 'house-physician, anatomist, and botanist.' Here till his death in 1613 he continued zealously active as a practising physician and a medical and botanical author. It was not granted him to complete the great critical history of plants, the scheme of which he had already conceived at a very early date; all his other botanical writings were merely precursors of this one.[1]

Incomparably more important was Caspar Bauhin, born in 1560. He began his medical and botanical studies at the age of sixteen at the university of Basle, and continued them afterwards at Padua, Montpellier, and Paris. Everywhere he won in the highest degree the love and esteem of his teachers. In the spring of 1580 he betook himself to Tübingen; a year later he received the degree of doctor at Basle. Soon afterwards he was received among the *Dozenten* of the Basle medicinal faculty, and began giving private lessons in anatomy and botany. In the summer he used to go regularly with his pupils into the fields and up the mountains and on the swamps to hunt about for plants and get to know them.

In 1582 the professor of the Greek language, Matthew Mayer, who had already been called to account for drunkenness, was dismissed for signing the Formula of Concord against the injunction of the committee, in order to retain a pastoral office, which he held, together with his professorship, in a village of the neighbouring Lutheran margraviate. The vacant post was given to Bauhin, who all the same went on giving private instruction in anatomy and botany. The

[1] Jessen in the *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*, ii. 149 f. See also Treviranus, p. 48 f.

professorships of these two branches of science fell to him in 1589, and for thirty-five years he continued to fill them with the greatest success; four times during this period he was chosen rector, and nine times dean of the medical faculty. One wonders at the energy of this indefatigable man when one learns that, in addition to his professional work, he was also extensively active as a physician and an author. Of his anatomical and medical writings there will be further mention in these pages.[1] No less important are his botanical works. In 1596 he published a pamphlet called 'Pflanzentafel,' in which the potato appears among plants described for the first time. 'In German,' he said, 'some call this fruit "Liebapfel" [love-apple], but incorrectly so; others call it "Grüblingbaum." The Italians eat it and call the bulbs "Tartuffoli." The people in Burgundy also either bake them in the ashes or boil them for eating. Others indeed consider the fruit poisonous.' The 'Pflanzentafel' was followed by numerous other writings, among which his famous 'Botanisches Theater' (1623) must be specially mentioned. This publication, the fruit of forty years' study, contains an index of about 6000 plants; it is, however, only the catalogue of contents of the great botanical work, the completion of which was unfortunately denied to the author. Like his great countryman, Conrad Gesner, Caspar Bauhin was overtaken by death in the middle of his work, on December 5, 1624.[2]

As a botanist Caspar Bauhin surpasses all his pre-

[1] See vol. xiv., chap. i., the section headed 'The Healing Art.'

[2] From Hess, *K. Bauhin*, pp. 11–67. Cf. also Wolf, *Biographien*, iii. 63 ff. Dates partly false are given by Jessen in the *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*, ii. 151 f., and Saint-Lager, *Hist. des Herbiers*, p. 87 f.

decessors. His work forms the closing stage of the development of botany up to that period, 'as well in regard to nomenclature and individual description as to classification according to similarity of habits. With him, finally, all side issues disappear; his works are botanical in a strictly scientific sense, and show how far it is possible to go in science by mere description without an underlying basis of comparative morphology, and how far the mere observation of habitual similarities is able to form the basis of a natural classification of plants. Further than this point it was not possible to go in the limits of the paths as yet opened up by the German and Dutch botanists.' [1]

During his travels in Switzerland, Germany, France, and Italy Caspar Bauhin had collected quantities of plants. Many others were sent to him by his pupils and friends. As this Basle scholar was in connexion with nearly all the botanists of Europe, his collection increased from day to day. He received plants and seeds even from Crete and Egypt; the Jesuit Father Johannes Terentius, stationed in East India, zealously supported the researches of this scholar, whose creed differed from his own. It cannot therefore seem astounding that Bauhin should have gathered together

[1] Sachs, *Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 35 f. Concerning Bauhin's *Prodromus Theatri Botanici* (1620) the above-mentioned writer says: 'The definition of individual species is here raised to a science, the descriptions to a diagnosis. It is still further to Bauhin's credit that with him the distinction between genus and species is made completely and consciously; he gives to each plant a general and specific name, and this binary nomenclature, of which Linnaeus is generally considered the founder, is almost complete in the *Pinax* of Bauhin. . . . The *Pinax* is the first "synonym-work" (and for its period it is a complete one), which is still at the present day indispensable for historical study of individual botanic species: no mean praise this, to be bestowed on a work after the lapse of 250 years.' See also Sprengel, i. 370 f.; Hess, 64 f.; Bischoff, *Botanik*, p. 447

in his herbarium the, for the time, extraordinarily large number of 4000 plants.[1]

An herbarium begun in 1610 by the Tyrolese doctor and botanist, Hippolytus Guarinoni, is neither so comprehensive nor so important. It is the oldest Austrian herbarium, and it is now in the *Ferdinandeum* at Innsbruck. The 600 plants included in it are still, with few exceptions, in such a good state of preservation that there is no difficulty in identifying them. The common German names of the plants, by which the people still partly call them to-day, are in every case put beside the Latin names.[2]

The numerous high-mountain plants which Guarinoni's herbarium includes show plainly that this exemplary man did not shrink from difficult Alpine expeditions. In his famous work 'Grewel der Verwüstung menschlichen Geschlechts,'[3] which may be described as a polyhistoric art of prolonging life, he has himself described some of these wanderings. 'A spirit of deep sensibility to nature breathes through these descriptions.'[4] In the section, 'Vom Bergsteigen, Jagen des Wildes und Besuch der köstlichen Bergkräuter,' Guarinoni says: 'The mountain projecting from this round world is nothing else than projecting diamonds and precious stones on a round, golden ring. The mountain is a finger of God, pointing heavenward to show who is its creator and ours; for if we look up

[1] Half of this collection has come to an end; the plants that have survived are still preserved in twenty great portfolios at Basle. There is a detailed scientific description of them in Saint-Lager, *Hist. des Herbiers*, p. 95 ff.

[2] See A. Kerner, 'Das älteste österreichische Herbarium' in the *Österreichische botanische Zeitschr.* xvi. (1866) 137 ff., 172 ff., 246 ff., 319 ff.

[3] See vol. xiv. p. 12.

[4] Pichler, *Guarinoni*, p. ii.

at mountains we turn our gaze much oftener to heaven and to God. To those who behold mountains with unsophisticated eyes they appear as the finer, more impressive, more beautiful, wonderful, enduring, rare and healthy parts of our world, for which reason God and nature, on account of all their excellences, have raised them high above the rest of the earth, and placed them like a king or an emperor on a throne, from which they may look down on the lower, imperfect world and rule over it. The mountain folk are like the valiant giants, famed in fables of the poets as daring to do battle with the false god Jupiter, but never yielding to him.'

Guarinoni was by no means singular in his enthusiasm for high mountains. The newly awakened ardour for natural history study, above all the curiosity to see the heavenly planet-world with the naked eye, had already attracted many explorers to the Alps, and filled them with wonder at the majestic mountain world. In this connexion we must above all refer again to Karl Clusius, who, in the interval between 1573 and 1588, climbed nearly all the Alpine peaks extending along the border of Styria and Nether Austria, the Snow Alps and the Veitsch Alps, the Rax Alps, the Wechsel, the Schneeberg, the Oetscher. Unfortunately the great Dutch explorer has left no actual description of this expedition, though he repeatedly makes incidental allusions to it. From these we gather that he was equipped with climbing irons, and had shepherds and huntsmen for guides, whom he used to question as to the usual popular names of the plants.[1]

[1] See the highly interesting article by A. Kerner, 'Zur Geschichte der Aurikel' in the *Zeitschr. des Deutsch-österreichischen Alpenvereins*

Others among the scholars of that period who were enamoured of the beauties of high mountain scenery were fortunately not so silent about their experiences as was Clusius; above all Conrad Gesner. 'I am resolved,' he wrote to his friend James Vogel in 1541, 'so long as divine providence spares my life, to climb some, or at least *one*, mountain every year, and that at the time of year when the plants are in their full vigour; and I shall do this partly to extend my acquaintance with mountain flora, and partly to strengthen my body and to obtain the most exalted kind of refreshment for my mind. For what glorious delight, what marvellous exhilaration it is, to survey with rapt astonishment the immeasurable mountain piles, and to feel one's head lifted above the clouds! These astounding heights produce a sense of exultation in the soul, and stir it to worship and adoration of the all-wise Creator. It is only people of sluggish souls who admire nothing, who stick at home in dull insensibility, and do not go forth into the glorious arena of God's wondrous world, who lie like marmots asleep in a corner, and who forget that the human race has been placed on this earth in order that, by contemplation of its wonders, it may rise to the knowledge of something greater still, namely, the invisible Godhead itself. Their dulness of mind is so great that they are always grovelling on the earth, and never look up to heaven with admiring gaze, never raise a glance of rapture to the stars. Let them then revolve in the mire of earth, thinking only of their gain and their low enjoyments! But let those who love wisdom go forth to feast the eyes of body

vi. (1875) 40 ff. With the mountain climbers mentioned here may be compared those named by Hirn, i. 361.

and of soul on the richly adorned treasure house of this universe; let them climb the lofty mountains, turn their gaze on that immeasurable Alpine chain, wander through yon shady forests, stand on the high mountain peaks, and take in the boundless variety of objects which lie spread before their eyes. And then let them ask themselves how it comes to pass that such a gigantic mass of rock and mountain does not gradually sink down into the depths, especially as the ground at its base is always becoming softer and more aqueous? For what purpose do all these heights stand towering thus? They are the inexhaustible storehouses in which the springs, streams, and rivers are generated, from which the surrounding lands receive their wealth of water. At their feet, sometimes even on their topmost summits, lie the beautiful lakes of our fatherland. Within these mountains fresh treasures are concealed, and their healing springs become a fountain of health and life to those who do not shrink from the difficult journey which leads to them. But the spiritual and mental enjoyment which such a mountain excursion affords is equally various and beneficial. The invigorating effect of the journey itself, the pleasant society, the sense of freedom from all the cares of ordinary professional work, are in themselves a great gain. Added to these is the pure mountain air which streams round us everywhere, and the inhalation of which is as refreshing as it is stimulating. The eye is enchanted with sights of endless variety: close at hand are plants of the most brilliant colouring and the loveliest forms; in the distance the wonderful shapes of the mountains, the sparkling surfaces of lakes, the serpentine flow of rivers, the rich, well-

cultivated plains, flecked with towns, villages, and hamlets, or the grassy slopes of the Alps covered with shepherds' huts, and alive with grazing cattle. At one moment the song of the birds charms the ear, at another the stillness, unbroken by the slightest murmur, fills us with a sense of holy awe. Everywhere pleasant perfumes float around us, for even those plants which in the lower valleys have no smell give out on the Alpine heights delicate, aromatic odours, and in this purer atmosphere every pleasure of the senses is purer, finer, and more exalted. The cold water quickens the whole body, the balmy milk strengthens and delights, and the hunger brought on by the exertion of climbing makes the simplest meal in a shepherd's hut taste like a feast of the gods.' [1] Gesner's friend Benedict Marti (styled Aretius) was as enthusiastic a mountain climber as himself. Next to delight in nature it was scientific ardour which drove this scholar into the mountains. At the age of sixty-two he climbed all over the Simmental Alps, collecting plants and minerals. In his short description of the mountains Stockhorn and Niesen in the canton of Bern, and of the plants growing on them, Aretius says: 'I know no pleasanter kind of travelling than mountaineering; you find everything up in those heights: wonderful plants, wild birds, stones, shady valleys, waterfalls, distant views, healthy, revivifying air, precipices, overhanging rocks, astounding ravines, solitary caves, weird icefields! It is the amphitheatre of the Lord!' [2]

[1] Hanhart, *Gesner*, pp. 91–94.

[2] Graf, *Gesch. der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften*, i. 36, 43.

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